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edited by Laura Clarito & Treela McKamey

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LAURA CLARITO AND TREELA MC

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PREFACE

Laura L. Clarito, Graduate Student in Linguistics

Treela B. McKamey, Graduate Student in Second Language Studies

The College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature held its eighth annual conference for graduate students on April 3, 2004 at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. This year's theme was "Looking Forward: The Future of Research in the Humanities." The conference was opened with a warm welcome from Dean Joseph H. O'Mealy, who congratulated presenters for the hard work that had brought them to this day. The conference's keynote speaker, James R. Gaines, Vice President for Research, spoke candidly about the difficulties of research (mainly in funding), but also emphasized its importance. Both speakers recognized the exemplary work presented at the conference as significant contributions to the world of scholarship.

Thirty-two students from the departments of East Asian Languages and Literatures, English, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, Linguistics, and Second Language Studies presented papers at the conference, 22 of which are included in this publication of the proceedings. On behalf of all the conference contributors, we would like to thank the many student and faculty volunteers who contributed their time to making the conference a success, from the abstract readers to the panel moderators to the on-site volunteers, including faculty advisor Marie-Christine Garneau and conference co-chairs Fabiana Piccolo, Justin Ota, and Kathryn Jarvis.

The editors would like to give special thanks to Dean O'Mealy and his office staff in the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature for their continued and unfailing help in the preparation of these proceedings. In particular, we would like to thank Iris Chang, supervising publication advisor, and Thomas Nozaki, Lisa Xiao, and Dale Yasunaga, student publication specialists. Without their hard work, the publication of the 2004 LLL Conference proceedings would not have been possible.

Finally, we would like to thank the contributors for their patience and cooperation during the long and sometimes grueling editing process. If our inexperience seemed to hinder rather than facilitate the publishing process, we apologize, but we hope that our contributions to these works have ultimately been valuable.

It is with great pleasure that we present here a collection of the fine works of our colleagues presented at the 8th Annual Conference for Graduate Students in the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature.

Mahalo

I. East Asian Languages and Literatures

USING GLOBAL GRAMMAR TO UNDERSTAND WORD CHOICE AND SENTENCE STRUCTURE IN A SECOND LANGUAGE

W. Daniel Child, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures

ABSTRACT

This paper shows how global grammar (Hsieh *Global and Toward*) can help students better understand word choice and sentence structure in a second language. Global grammar defines a *global expression* as the total set of possible actions used to describe an event. When describing the same event, regional languages—that is, human languages such as English or Chinese—employ only a part of this global expression. Understanding this important principle can help students from divergent language backgrounds conceptualize expressions in their target language. Consider the following sentences (E=English, C=Chinese, J=Japanese):

- (1E) The bird *flew onto* the branch.
(1C) niao *fei dao* shu *shang*.
 'bird' 'fly' 'arrive' 'tree' 'on'
(1J) tori ga ki no ue *ni tomatta*.
 'bird' SM 'tree' GEN 'on' 'at' 'stop/land'

(2E) He *flew to* Beijing.
(2C) ta *zuo feiji dao* beijing *qu*.
 'he' 'sit' 'plane' 'arrive' 'beijing' 'go'
(2J) kare wa *hikooki de* pekin *ni itta*.
 'he' TM 'plane' PM 'Peking' 'to' 'went'

(3E) The bird *flew into* the window.
(3C) niao *zhuang shang* le chuanghu.
 'bird' 'collide' 'on' ASP 'window'
(3J) tori ga mado *ni tobikonda*.
 'bird' SM 'window' 'on' 'fly-into'

The English examples (1E – 3E) all employ *flew* and an accompanying preposition to describe the event of flying. By contrast, the Chinese and Japanese foreground a different subset of the global expression, and thus employ a wider variety of constructions. Global grammar can help second language students learn to resolve such disparities between their native and target languages at both the lexical and syntactic levels.

1.0. BACKGROUND: PROBLEM OF NATIVE LANGUAGE INTERFERENCE AND OVERGENERALIZATION

Native language (L1) interference has long been attested in SLS literature as problematic for language learners. Brown, for instance, states that native-language interference is “surely the most immediately noticeable source of error among second language learners” (90). In a similar vein, overgeneralization, or the process of employing native-language categorizations inappropriately in a target language (L2), is also cited as a common source of error in language students.

Studies on these phenomena typically focus on particular instances of the kind of interference that may arise between two languages L1 and L2. In this paper, we will instead be using global grammar to delve deeper into the underlying cause of interference and overgeneralization and see how global grammar principles can be used to help students be aware of two common areas of difficulty: syntax and the lexicon. The underlying reason that a syntactic pattern *s1* or lexical expression *x1* from L1 cannot be used in L2 becomes readily apparent once we understand the nature of Hsieh’s notion of global grammar.

2.0. A PRECURSOR TO GLOBAL GRAMMAR: COMPOSITIONAL COGNITIVE GRAMMAR

Global grammar is an extension of Hsieh’s compositional cognitive grammar (CCG) (Hsieh *Subject Chain*; see also Chang), a model for analyzing expressions at a variety of levels. As attested by Wang, one of the advantages of CCG is that it can help to reconcile two major competing tendencies in syntax: namely, relativism,

and universalism. CCG accomplishes this by postulating five levels of analysis. The deepest of these levels is referred to as the *image structure* (IR), which can fully expand an expression to identify possible features of an utterance. This image structure is cognitively based, and thus can be understood by anyone regardless of language background. In this sense, it is universal. At the other end of the scale is the *constituent structure* (CS), which finely breaks down the syntactic elements of the sentence so as to detail the relationships among the entities involved. A CS is highly dependent on the individual language in question, in support of relativist perspectives. In between these two extremes lie three other levels of analysis: the *semantic structure* (SR), *thematic structure* (TR) and *functional structure* (FR). To understand global grammar, it is helpful to be familiar with a few simple CCG concepts. Specifically, we need concern ourselves primarily with the IR and SR, as well as with action frames.

In CCG, an *action frame* is the pairing of an *initiator* (I) with a *complex action* (A'). A complex action, in turn, consists of an *abstract verb* and a *receiver* (R). The term *abstract verb*, as it is used here, refers to full verbs (FVs), corresponding to verbs and adjectives; half verbs (HVs), corresponding to prepositions, conjunctions, adverbs, auxiliary verbs, and markers of tense and aspect; and grammatical verbs (GVs), corresponding to demonstratives, determiners, grammatical particles, and the like. Consider the following sentence:

(4E) John fell into the water.

In this case, there are two abstract verbs: *fell*, a full verb; and *into*, a half verb. For the action frame designated by the FV *fell*, John is the initiator, designated by I, and *fell* is the action, designated by A.¹ In this action frame, as there is no receptor, the R position gets a value of null. As for the prepositional phrase, *into the water*, the preposition is designated as the action A, and water is the receptor R. This sentence would be diagrammed as shown in Figure 1.

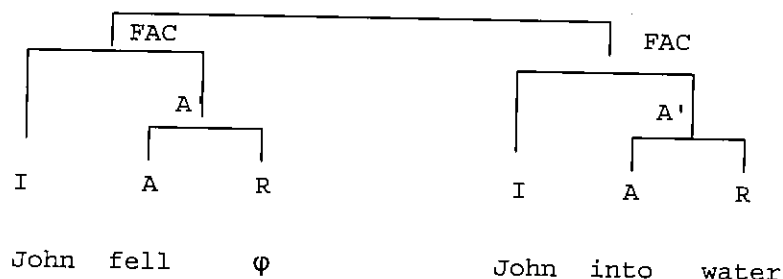


Figure 1. Simplified depiction of action frames (FACs) for "John fell into the water."

A full treatment of CCG is beyond the scope of this paper, but the previous figure should demonstrate that words that are not considered verbs in the ordinary sense nonetheless designate a kind of action or event. To understand global grammar, it is essential to recognize that half verbs and grammatical verbs also play a role in conveying the cognitive imagery of an expression.

3.0. BASIC GLOBAL GRAMMAR PRINCIPLES

Having reviewed these basic CCG concepts, we are now in a position to understand the workings of global grammar in a pedagogical context. For a given expression, one can postulate a global expression that encompasses all the possible elements (referred to as "features") used to convey the meaning of the expression. In practice, individual regional languages (that is, human languages) employ only a subset of these possible features. The global expression is essentially a theoretical construct, a kind of deep structure that constitutes the aggregate of all features employed by a collection of regional languages. In CCG, it would correspond to the universally appreciable image structure. This "prototype" expression is therefore all-inclusive.

In principle, if all languages were used to evaluate how a particular expression were expressed, one could theoretically fully delineate the features found in the global expression. In practice, however, it usually suffices to take one or two additional languages to identify a significant number of features whose expression is

unique to the regional languages under study. For the purposes of this paper, we will restrict ourselves to Chinese, Japanese, and English. Consider the following set of translation-equivalent sentences:

- (1E) The bird *flew onto* the branch.
 (1C) niao *fei dao* shu *shang*.
 'bird' 'fly' 'arrive' 'tree' 'on'
 (1J) tori ga ki no ue *ni tomatta*.
 'bird' SM 'tree' GEN 'on' 'at' 'stop/land'

These three sentences represent the English, Chinese, and Japanese expressions used to convey the idea of a bird flying onto a branch. Abstract verbs are given in bold-italics. Readers familiar with even the basics of these three languages will readily note that the words used in (1E – 1J) do not correspond in any one-to-one fashion. This is because (1C) and (1J) are translation equivalents of 1E that would be considered perfectly natural utterances for native speakers of Chinese and Japanese in a neutral context.

If we recall that in CCG at the semantic level an "action" is marked by an abstract verb, then, in 1E, we see that the English seems to specify two actions: *fly* and *onto*. If, however, we consider *onto* to be bimorphemic (*to* + *on*), then there are actually three actions: *fly*, *-to*, and *on-*. In a similar way, Chinese also expresses three actions: *fei* ('fly'), *dao* ('arrive'), and *shang* ('on'). Finally, we can see that the Japanese likewise employs three actions: *ue* ('on'), *ni* ('at') and *tomatta* ('stop/land').

The first thing to note is that while the number of abstract verbs is the same in each case, the meaning of those verbs differs. The reason for this becomes clear if we compare the regional expressions with their global counterpart. But to arrive at a global expression, we must first consider the event described in considerable detail. Namely, a fully expanded image of the above sentences would describe the following: a bird departs from some place, flies through space, arrives at a tree, and lands on it. For clarity, the features (designated by 'f') postulated for the global expression are made bold in Figure 2.

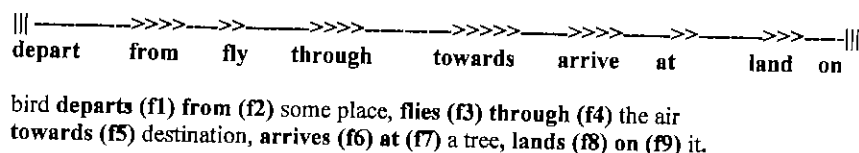


Figure 2. Fully expanded decomposition of the event described in sentences (1E - 1J).

We can identify as many as nine possible features for the global expression, where the nine "actions" correspond to abstract verbs in CCG. The following table shows which features are featured in the regional expressions under consideration. Since none of the examples mention the act of departing from a point of origin, we will leave out f1 and f2 above. We therefore need only consider the seven features shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparison of foregrounded features in translation-equivalent sentences for “The bird flew onto the branch.”

Global Features	English	Chinese	Japanese
fly	fly	fei	---
through	---	---	---
towards	(-to)	---	---
arrive	---	dao	---
at	(-to)	---	ni
land	---	---	tomatta
on	on-	shang	ue

To begin with, we note that of the possible abstract verbs featured in a global expression, no more than half of them are expressed by any particular regional language. This is a natural consequence of Grice's maxim of quantity, wherein speakers generally express the minimum necessary to get their message across.²

We can also note that there is a significant difference in which specific features are subselected by the individual languages. Chinese is alone in specifying the concept of arriving (*dao*). Perhaps most surprising of all is the fact that Japanese ignores the action of flying altogether, and focuses instead on the action of landing (*tomatta*). In this respect, the selection of features seems to be idiosyncratic, as individual regional languages are prone to focus on different portions of a sequence of events when conveying basic communicative meaning in natural speech. This leads us to two important processes in language expression: *decomposition* and *compression*.

3.1. Decomposition and Compression: An Idiosyncratic Process

Theoretically, any action can be subdivided any number of times and expressed in a more complex manner. For instance, a verb like *eat* actually contains a complex set of actions: choosing the food, picking it up, placing it in one's mouth, chewing it, and swallowing it. By convention, languages frequently *compress* such complex actions into a concise and highly serviceable expression—in the present case, *eat*. In other words, compression is the practice of subsuming a host of activities into one convenient expression. Expansion, or *decomposition*, is the opposite principle, that of taking a word like *eat* and subdividing it into all the actions that that verb entails (*choosing the food, picking it up, and so forth*).

In essence, what we did in the example of the flying bird was to decompose the description of an event (bird flies onto tree) into the full set of features implicated by the three regional languages under consideration. This process of decomposition enabled us to postulate a global expression. In this way, we could readily discern which features were foregrounded (mentioned) and backgrounded (omitted) in the three regional expressions. As we saw, many features were automatically backgrounded, meaning that they did not need to be expressed in the regional expressions.

Finally, from Table 1, we can also see that there is a little ambiguity as to whether the English morpheme *-to* (parsed from *onto*) corresponds to the idea of moving *through* space or *towards* a destination. In some ways, it seems to encompass both concepts. Because there is an apparent overlap in meaning, we should suspect that *-to* in this context compresses two contiguous actions along the flight path of the bird. As we already discussed, such compression is a natural and common feature of any language. For a better understanding of just how idiosyncratic feature selection can be in different regional languages, consider the next set of examples:

- (2E) He *flew to* Beijing.
 (2C) ta *zuo feiji dao* beijing *qu*.
 'he' 'sit' 'plane' 'arrive' 'beijing' 'go'
 (2J) karewa *hikooki de* pekin *ni itta*.
 'he' TM 'plane' PM 'Peking' 'to' 'went'

The English sentence structure in (2E) is practically identical to that in (1E): a verb *to fly* combined with a preposition. But as we will now see, the Japanese and Chinese take very different approaches to describing the event. As before, because the point of origin is not discussed in any of the sentences, we will ignore it in the following analysis. The table below therefore identifies six actions for the global expression and shows the corresponding foregrounded features in the regional expressions:

Table 2. Comparison of foregrounded features in translation-equivalent sentences for "He flew to Beijing."

Global Features	English	Chinese	Japanese
<i>means</i>	---	zuo (feiji)	(hikooki) de
fly	flew	fei	---
through	---	---	---
towards	(to)	---	ni
arrive	(to)	dao	---
at	---	---	---
go	---	qu	itta

As before, the English preposition *to* straddles two features in the temporal sequence, that of directionality (moving through space towards a destination) and arriving. *To* thus compresses the two abstract actions. The

Chinese (2C) shows an added feature of means (*zuo feiji*: lit. 'sit (on) plane'), as does the Japanese (*hikooki de*: lit. 'by plane'). In English, "by plane" is generally understood and thus usually not expressed. Finally, we can again see another pattern emerging, as the Japanese expression foregrounds the act of going without using a verb equivalent to *to fly*. (Recall that this was true also of the case of (1J), where the bird landed (*tomatta*) on the tree instead of flying onto it.)

To further illustrate the extent to which the feature selection pattern for these three languages may differ when describing acts of flying, we will briefly consider a third set of sentences.

- (3E) The bird **flew into** the window.
 (3C) niao **zhuang shang** le chuanguhu.
 'bird' 'collide' 'on' ASP 'window'
 (3J) tori ga mado **ni tobikonda**.
 'bird' SM 'window' 'on' 'fly-into'

Table 3. Comparison of foregrounded features in translation-equivalent sentences for "The bird flew into the window."

Global Features	English	Chinese	Japanese
fly	flew	---	tobi-
through	---	---	---
towards	(-to)	---	(konda)
in	(-in)	---	(konda)
on	---	shang	---
collide/crash	---	zhuang	---

Here, it is the Chinese that backgrounds the act of flying (*fei*) in favor of the act of colliding (*zhuang*). Unlike our previous two examples, this time Japanese explicitly mentions the act of flying (*tobi-*). In terms of feature selection, the Japanese and English more or less correspond.

3.2. Influence of Communicative Intent on Feature Selection

At this point, we should note that the previous examples were selected by taking a fairly ordinary sentence in English and attempting to express those sentences naturally in Chinese and Japanese. The assumption was one of a neutral descriptive context, and our goal was therefore to provide translation-equivalent sentences as they would naturally be expressed by a native speaker of each language. We noted that each regional expression tended to subselect two, or at most three, features out of a theoretically possible set of six or more features. In principle, we could have postulated a greater number of features for the global expression, but to do so would be pointless since they are not expressed in any of the regional languages under consideration.

The choice of features that a speaker makes in producing an utterance naturally depends on the intent of communication. Moreover, any language utterance can include more features if the intent of communication requires them. For instance, none of our previous examples (1 - 3) mentioned a point of departure, but we have no trouble doing so if we choose to convey that information. Consider sentence (5E):

- (5E) He flew from Washington to Beijing

Here, we specify not only the point of departure but also the point of arrival. In the same way, we could also leave out the point of arrival, as in:

- (6E) He flew out of Washington.

The interesting point, however, is that in neutral descriptions of particular events (1 - 3), each regional language subselects a different set of features. In some cases, two features are even fused into one; that is, they are compressed. Returning to Grice's maxim, we could postulate that native language speakers will tend towards the minimum needed to convey their intended meaning. Global grammar makes it quite clear, however, that what is considered "minimum" in one language is not the same as "minimum" in another. The question then becomes,

How can we use this information in language pedagogy? I will take a few examples from both Chinese and Japanese to help illustrate differences between the explanation of structure afforded by global grammar and those given in a "typical" textbook.

4.0. DIRECTIONALITY: AN EXAMPLE OF THE PEDAGOGICAL APPLICABILITY OF GLOBAL GRAMMAR

Chinese and Japanese both tend to be more explicit than English in decomposing actions with respect to directionality. In Chinese, for instance, it is frequently important to convey the sense of whether an action occurs towards or away from the speaker. Consider these examples.

- (7E) He entered the room.
 (7C) Ta zou jin le fangjian.
 'He' 'walk' 'enter' ASP 'room'

In this example, the English verb *enter* corresponds to two features expressed in Chinese, namely *walk* (zou) and *into* (jin). We can reword the English sentence above so that it better reflects the features used in Chinese, as in:

- (7E') He walked into the room.

In a nonneutral context, the manner of locomotion is often not important; other times, we might be forced to specify it, as in:

- (7E'') He crawled into the room.

Conversely, we could alter the Chinese to make it resemble (7E).

- (7C') Ta jinru le fangjian.
 'he' 'enter' ASP 'room'

But now consider the following.

- (8E) He entered the room.
 (8C) Ta zou jin le fangjian lai.
 'he' 'walk' 'enter' ASP 'room' 'come (towards speaker)'

In this case, the Chinese expresses an additional piece of information that is not given in English. The verb-complement *lai* expresses the idea that the person in question is walking towards the speaker. In neutral contexts where such information is considered irrelevant, the idea of "coming towards the speaker" would *never* be expressed by a native English speaker. In Chinese, by contrast, assuming that the speaker is in fact present in the room, such information is *always* relevant. If students can learn to anticipate contexts like these, where L1 and L2 typically background and foreground different pieces of information, they will be better equipped to avoid interference and overgeneralization.

The following examples now illustrate how something considered worth foregrounding in Japanese is typically ignored in both Chinese and English.

- (9E) I am going shopping.
 (9C) wo qu shangdian
 'I' 'go' 'store'
 (9J) kaimono ni itte kimasu
 'shopping' 'to' 'go' 'come'

In this case, the Japanese in (9J) foregrounds the issue of returning back to the place where the person being addressed is currently stationed. In neutral contexts (where there is no explicit reason for making a point of this fact), English and Chinese typically background such information. It simply is not expressed.

Rather than merely alluding to such differences in piecemeal fashion as they arise in textbooks, future pedagogical work can begin to focus on the specific patterns where structural differences are likely to arise. Moreover, rather than referring to such things by such cryptic terms as resultative complement (and thus baffling the typical student), one can fully expand the temporal or spacial sequence at hand, and then show that it is common for different languages to emphasize different portions of that temporal or spatial sequence.³

Global grammar is a new approach to explaining pedagogical issues in a practical way without resorting to complex linguistic terminology. In the classroom, typical temporal sequences like those above should be enough to illustrate the basic principles involved. Naturally, much work will be needed to pinpoint the major patterns where differences can be expected between the selection of features in L1 and L2. In Chinese, for instance, directional and resultative complements are an obvious point of departure for research.⁴ The more subtle “grammatical verbs” and “half verbs” in Mandarin can also be addressed in this manner. Most importantly, from the standpoint of a language learner, what initially appears to be an exotic foreign-language construction soon becomes identifiable and readily appreciable by a nonnative speaker of the target language simply by expressing the fully expanded image structure and delineating the full set of features that could be theoretically expressed. Students can then learn which features to emphasize (foreground) in the target language. Students should have little difficulty grasping this concept, and once they do, they should find it much easier to internalize the otherwise exotic sentence patterns of the language they are trying to learn.

At the sentence pattern or syntactic level, then, global grammar identifies the fully expanded form of a sequence of actions and contrasts the full set of features in that global expression with those selected by the native languages of students in the classroom. To the extent that the teacher is familiar with those languages, students of the classroom need not be forced to adopt the perspective of any one particular language in trying to comprehend L2. The image structure is accessible to each student regardless of language background, and by contrasting the image structure with its representation in the target language, students can quickly apprehend the L2 pattern at hand.

5.0. IMPLICATIONS FOR LEXICAL ACQUISITION

It is well known that the lexemes of two languages L1 and L2 rarely correspond in a one-to-one relationship. If we were to represent this idea in the terms typically used for databases, the lexemes of L1 and L2 would correspond in a many-to-many relationship. Notating the lexemes of language L1 as X, and those of language L2 as Y, we might have the following types of correspondence.

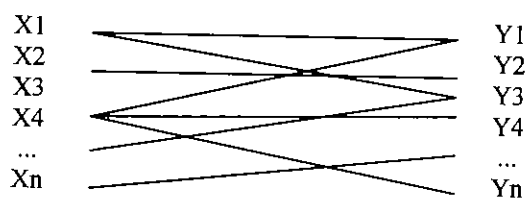


Figure 3. Depiction of many-to-many relationship of lexemes X from L1 and lexemes Y from L2.

It turns out that a second area where global grammar can help students overcome interference and overgeneralization is in understanding why, depending on context, such a variety of L2 words may be needed to express a particular L1 expression. We can again demonstrate this principle by returning to the image structure of what is taking place. To illustrate this concept, we can consider the verb *bounce* and see how various contexts will elicit different verbs in Japanese. Consider these two sets of sentences.

(10E) The ball *bounced* high (in the air).

(10J) Booru ga takaku *hazunda*.

'ball' SM 'high' 'bounce'

- (11E) The ball *bounced off* the wall.
 (11J) Booru ga kabe ni *hanekaetta*.
 'ball' SM 'wall' 'at' 'spring-return'

From a native English speaker's perspective, the action involved appears to be the same. Sentence (10E) simply states that an action of bouncing took place (presumably off the ground), and that the height of the upward trajectory was great. In the second case, the bouncing action takes place off of a wall. The same verb is applied in each case. Note that English compresses the complex action [{approach object -> contact object -> leave object} in manner exhibiting elasticity] into a single verb *bounce*.

An English speaker learning Japanese might be surprised to learn that the translation-equivalent sentences in Japanese employ different verbs. Sentence (10J) is structurally equivalent to the English. However, (11J) decomposes the complex action bounce into [hane- (spring/leap) + kaeru (return)]. This example illustrates that two seemingly identical actions in English employ different verbs in Japanese, and the reason for this is the degree to which the described action is compressed or decomposed in the two languages. In both cases, English compresses the action of bouncing into one verb, whereas in (11J), the Japanese decomposes the event into two actions [spring + return] and emphasizes the point of location of the ricochet using *ni*.

What does this mean for SLS teachers? First, if such seemingly harmless and straightforward contexts can invoke different expressions in the target language, then lexical study is crucial to attaining high competence in a foreign language. Second, a meaningful understanding of target expressions can be greatly aided by identifying the iconic properties of the target expression, such that the student becomes aware of the rhyme and reason of the target expression. Because the underlying reason for the target expression is based on imagery that the student can readily comprehend, he will have no trouble learning to apply the principle if he is provided with properly organized input for contexts where such an expression is employed.

Regarding typical actions that describe spatial or temporal sequences, for instance, at the syntactic structure, students should learn to internalize the imagery where the L2 foregrounding of features will differ from that in L1. And at the same time, textbooks that simply provide citations like *hazumu* for bounce would be far less helpful than those that contrast 'bounce' (*hazumu*) and 'bounce off' (*hanekaeru*). Because English speakers are used to compressing the event into a single verb, proper citations would enable them to accurately express the meaning that they want to convey in the target language. Needless to say, there is ample room for research in this field, and the applicability of global grammar principles to pedagogy is enormous, provided that sufficient research is done in the areas outlined above.

6.0. CONCLUSION

Global grammar can contribute to the field of pedagogy in two areas: syntax and the lexicon. Because global grammar identifies an image structure or global expression that is cognitively accessible to speakers of any language, the global expression becomes a tool for explaining the choices that are made unconsciously by native speakers in foregrounding and backgrounding various possible features of a target expression. Helping students to learn to decompose actions into their spatial and temporal phases will enable them to better appreciate unfamiliar processes of expansion and compression employed in the target language.

Linguists and SLS researchers can further use CCG and global grammar to identify common patterns of compression and expansion in the languages they study. This information can then be distilled in a manner that is easy for students to grasp in the classroom. Similarly, students can become sensitive to contexts where they may have to use an entirely different expression from the one they would expect if they used the image structure of their native language. In other words, global grammar, in addition to shedding insight on syntax structure, can help students learn to appreciate the dependence of diction on context, which in turn is dependent on the imagery of the action portrayed.

NOTES

1. I am intentionally ignoring tense and English articles to avoid complicating the main argument of this paper.
2. See Beakley's website (2004) for a convenient listing of Grice's conversational maxims.
3. Note that in this respect, Tai's work on temporal sequence helps to reduce what initially appears to be a wide variety of Mandarin syntactic patterns to one underlying principle. See also Vendler for one approach to the categorization of verbs according to the type of event they describe.
4. For a traditional approach to the notion of resultative and directional complements in Chinese, see Li and Thompson.

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TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY FOR *KANJI* OF JAPANESE ORIGIN— THE UNDERLYING RATIONALE IN *KOKUJI* COMPOSITION

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to identify the primary characteristics of Japanese *kokuji* from two standpoints: the rationale behind their formation, and the processes used to create them. To this end, I explore characterizations of *kokuji* found in the current literature and propose a model for analyzing compositional rationale. I also look at sequences of characters containing a primary recurring element to see whether the phonetic-compound (*keisei moji*) principle was applied with any regularity. Accordingly, explicit and implicit comparisons are made with the processes used in the evolution of Chinese-origin characters.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Modern Japanese dictionaries indicate that the term *kokuji* is used in three major senses. In its broadest sense, *kokuji* encompass any characters used in a nation's writing system. In the case of the Japanese writing system, this definition therefore includes *kanji*, *hiragana*, and *katakana*. A second definition takes *kokuji* to refer specifically to *hiragana* and *katakana*, in implicit contradistinction to *kanji*. For the purposes of this paper, our attention will primarily be on the third definition, according to which *kokuji* are characters that resemble Chinese-origin *kanji* in their basic form, or which were made in imitation of *kanji*, and yet which originated in Japan.

Although ostensibly straightforward, this third definition is not as clear-cut as it might seem. To begin with, *hiragana* and *katakana* originally derived from abbreviated forms of Chinese-origin characters, and so technically might seem to warrant inclusion.¹ However, because their forms have, by and large, been greatly altered from the original, and because they are used strictly as phonetic symbols, in this paper we will exclude them from consideration. After all, they are an easily identifiable set whose origins seem to be well understood. On the other hand, we might wish to include certain nonstandard characters created from abbreviated *kana* and used "like *kana*."²

Other problems plague the identification of *kokuji* according to the third definition of "kanji-like, made-in-Japan characters." Certain characters, for instance, were apparently thought to be created in Japan, but unbeknownst to the original Japanese users, the character did in fact already exist in China. For instance, the often cited example of 鰯 'tako' *octopus* is thought to have been created by taking the Chinese character for long-legged spider, 'shao' (蛸) and replacing the *insect* radical with that for *fish* (魚). (In Chinese, 鰯 'shao' was used in the compound 海鰯子 'hai'shao'zi'.) However, it turns out that 鰯 already existed in China and was used (albeit rarely) in reference to a particular species of freshwater fish (Reiman 1983: 200). Such characters can thus be thought of as "accidental twins." Scholars differ as to whether to treat such cases as *kokuji*, but given that our purpose is to analyze compositional rationale, the fact that they were unknowingly "recreated" allows us to include them in our definition of *kokuji*.

Another issue that is debated is whether to count as *kokuji* characters that originated in Japan but were subsequently imported to China. As in the previous case, it seems reasonable to consider these as *kokuji* even though there are dictionaries that do not treat them as such.

Finally, certain characters such as 'mata' *crotch* (俣 and 俣) are thought to have arisen by mistake when scribes misinterpreted the cursive form character for 俣 during transcription (Reiman 1983: 224). Though originally of Chinese origin, the resulting character nevertheless had a new form. Characters created by accident in this way, I would argue, should more properly be relegated to the realm of *itaji* if their usage is identical with the original character. On the other hand, if their usage and assigned meanings and readings take on a life of their own, then, needless to say, the characters become de facto *kokuji* and should be treated as such.

With the above considerations in mind, we have now arrived at a definition of *okuji* for the purposes of this paper. Our definition excludes both sets of *kana* and all Chinese-origin *kanji*, with the exception of “accidental twins” (like ‘tako’ 鮎). Our definition also includes characters (like ‘hatarak-’ 働) originating in Japan but subsequently exported to China. Finally, characters created accidentally during transcription would be excluded unless they came to be used in a totally different manner from the character of origin.

One might wonder how many such characters exist when ascribing to this definition. Not that surprisingly, the answer is “undetermined.” Reiman, having devoted many years to poring over various Japanese dictionaries, from the earliest periods to the most recent, arrives at a tentative estimate of 277 (Reiman 1990: 43). We should note, however, that she does not claim to have identified all the *okuji* ever created, as the work of examining place and people names remains incomplete. She generally tends to exclude *itaiji* from her analysis, and so her initial figure is undoubtedly low. But her research does show that none of the best known dictionaries contains a complete, or even nearly complete, listing.

By contrast, Hida’s *Kokuji no Jiten* contains some 1500 characters, 1553 to be exact. This staggering number is a testament to the 25 years of labor that Sugawara (on whose work the book is based) spent identifying *okuji*. Within that work, there are plenty of instances of characters that mean the same thing and differ only by the addition, substitution, repositioning, or alteration of one of the constituent elements. It seems clear that *itaiji* are regularly included in the listing, and even among *okuji* there are variants, as we shall see later on. Thus, we can expect that Hida’s estimate borders on the high end of the scale. Given the difficulty in determining whether *itaiji* should be counted as *okuji*, it will no doubt be years before scholars arrive at a definitive figure.

The issue of standardization, of course, is malleable and subjective, being that it reflects the views of scholars at a particular point in time. As various scholars point out, *okuji* were historically considered inferior to “real” (Chinese-origin) *kanji*, and thus were largely relegated to the category of *sokuji*. For the time being, we have little choice but to take Reiman’s and Hida’s counts as delimiting a ballpark figure within which the true number undoubtedly falls.

2.0. CHARACTERIZATIONS OF *KOKUJI* COMPOSITION

In this section, I will provide a synopsis of three characterizations of *okuji* composition in the current literature. These descriptions will be the starting point for our analysis of compositional rationale.

2.1. Hida: *Kokuji no Jiten*

Hida identifies three different major categories of *okuji* depending on their constituent elements. In the first type, two elements combine to form a new character. In the case of semantic composites, the result is a *kai-i moji* (会意文字), that is, a compound ideograph.³ In the case of phonetic composites, the reading of the character combines the reading of its constituent elements. For example, the *jinmei* (人名) character 磨 derives from ‘ma’ 麻 + ‘ro’ 呂. A second possibility is to abbreviate or otherwise alter a portion of an originally Chinese character. This category thus includes *hiragana* and *katakana*, together with other characters that result from the abbreviation of characters. Finally, Hida takes *okuji* to be characters resulting from the combination of abbreviated or exchanged elements. This results in two subtypes: combinations of abbreviated characters, and combinations of abbreviated *kana*. Hida’s divisions can be summarized as follows, where S = semantic indicator, P = phonetic indicator, Ac = abbreviated character, C = Chinese-origin *kanji*, and Ak = abbreviated *kana*.

(1) Character + Character

- a) S + S = *kai-i moji*
- b) P + P = phonetic composite⁴

- (2) Abbreviation or Alteration of Chinese Character
 - a) hiragana or katakana
 - b) Ac
- (3) Combinations of Abbreviated Elements
 - a) Ac + Ac
 - b) Ak + Ak

On the surface, Hida's typology seems to have the merit of being internally consistent: all three categories seem to describe the types of constituent elements used to form the character. Looking more deeply, however, we should note that Hida fails to distinguish whether abbreviated components are indicative of meaning or of sound. Category 1 speaks of semantic and phonetic elements (S and P), whereas 2 and 3 have more to do with whether an element has been abbreviated or altered. Moreover, as we will see later, these categories are insufficient to identify all types of *kokuji* known to exist. We will address these inconsistencies later.

2.2. Reiman 1983: Status of Kokuji

Reiman has provided two separate assessments of *kokuji*. In her earlier categorization, she asserts that *kokuji* can be analyzed in much the same way as for Chinese-origin characters. This approach is premised on the assumption that characters generally combine two components, where each component may be either a semantic or a phonetic element. Further, the phonetic may represent either an *on* or a *kun* reading. Accordingly, the following combinations are possible.

- a) radical + semantic component
e.g. 木 (tree) + 山 (mountain) = 杣 'soma' (timber forest)
- b) radical + phonetic component with *on* reading
e.g. 魚 (fish) + 安 'an' and
魚 (fish) + 康 'kou' => 鮫鯨 'an-kou' (angler fish)
- c) two phonetic *on* components
e.g. 久 'ku' + 米 'me' => 桑 'kume' (a proper name)
- d) radical + phonetic component with *kun* reading
e.g. 衤 (clothing) + 行 'yuki' => 裾 'yuki' (sleeve)
- e) two phonetic *kun* components⁵
e.g. 凵 'na' (wind) + 止 'gi' (stop) => 凪 nagi 'calm'

Reiman suggests that the last two of these categories are "more Japanized" because they constitute the application of *kun* readings in place of the more standard *on* readings. If we were to symbolize the above analysis using S (semantic), Pk (phonetic *kun*), Po (phonetic *on*), with the further understanding that all so-called "radicals" are nearly always semantic elements, then we can represent Reiman's categories as follows:

- a) S + S
- b) S + Po
- c) Po + Po
- d) S + Pk
- e) Pk + Pk

Using this new representation, we can readily see that, from a structural standpoint, d) is simply a natural extension of category b), the only difference being whether the phonetic represents an *on* or a *kun* reading. Likewise, c) and e) are structurally identical, with *on* versus *kun* being the only distinguishing factor.

When contrasted with the vast majority of Chinese-origin characters, categories c) and e) are highly unusual in that the resulting character is bimorphemic. Among “vulgar” characters in Chinese, one does occasionally encounter nonstandard composite characters of a similar nature, as in 圖, a shorthand for 圖書館 ‘tu²shu¹guan³’ (library).⁶ But while the idea of combining two words into one is not strictly new, these two categories are outside the mainstream practice of representing single morphemes. They are rarely, if ever, encountered in standard Chinese characters.

Like Hida, Reiman (1983) fails to adequately encompass the full range of *okuji* types. On the plus side, if we renotate the elements using S and P, we do see that she is consistently alluding to the semantic or phonetic information provided by the elements in question.

2.3. Reiman 1990: *Nihonjin no Tsukutta Kanji*

In a later work, Reiman offers another perspective on how to analyze *okuji* structurally (Reiman 1990: 187). I have translated these descriptions as follows:

- 1) The character employs elements that indicate pronunciation. This category has three subtypes:
 - a) The character combines phonetic elements with *on* readings.
(e.g. 桑 ‘kume’: combines 久 ‘ku’ and 米 ‘me’)
 - b) The character combines a semantic and a phonetic element, the latter indicating the *on* reading. The character is thus a *keisei moji*.
(e.g. 鯨 ‘kou’: combines 魚 fish and *on* reading 康 ‘kou’)
 - c) The character combines phonetic elements with *kun* readings.
(e.g. 髪 ‘kamishimo’: combines *kun* readings for 上 ‘kami’ and 下 ‘shimo’)
- 2) The character derives from a combination of semantic elements.
(e.g. 働 ‘hataraki’: combines 人 ‘man’ and 動 ‘action’)
- 3) The character is based on the omission of an element from a larger character in Chinese.
(e.g. 匂 ‘nioi’: from abbreviated 韻 ‘yun4’, followed by alteration of the interior strokes)
- 4) The character is composed of simplified or abbreviated character elements.
(e.g. 凧 ‘nagi’: combines simplified 風 ‘kaze’ with 止 ‘tomaru’)
- 5) The character derives from the synthesis of a Chinese language expression and its subsequent representation by a combination of elements.
(e.g. 辻 ‘taji’: derived from 十字路 ‘sh²zi⁴lu⁴’ *intersection*)
- 6) Character derived by substituting a portion of a Chinese-origin character with another element.
(e.g. 焚 ‘fumoto’: substitutes 下 for 鹿 in Chinese character 麓 ‘lu4’)
- 7) The character is formed by the addition of an element to an existing character.
(e.g. 簾 ‘hata’: adds 竹 *bamboo* to 旗 ‘hata’)
- 8) The character arose because a grass-style form was misinterpreted during transcription.
(e.g. 俣/俣 ‘mata’: misinterpreted from the grass-style form for 俣 ‘ma(tu)/KI/SHI)

Reiman claims that most *okuji* are *kai-i moji* and thus fall under category 2 (Reiman 1990: 188). She further notes that one may find some overlap among the categories. In other words, depending on the

perspective, a character may fall into two or more categories at the same time. This last disclaimer notwithstanding, there are obvious inconsistencies in her typology.

For instance, one glaring omission in the above enumeration of types is *kokuji* that seem to constitute an entirely new element having no ostensible semantic or phonetic implications. Examples fitting this description include 匁 'onsu' *ounce* and ㇿ 'daraa' *dollar* (Hada: 12). Also missing is the fairly common use of reduplication found in such cases as 𪛗 (triplication of 'jia'), 𪛘 (triplication of 'otoko'), and 𪛙 (doubling of 'narabe'). Technically, these could be counted as a subset of 1a) or 2) (or both simultaneously), but it seems that the process is commonplace enough to at least warrant mention.

3.0. PROCESSES USED IN *KOKUJI* FORMATION

Based on her initial assessment of *kokuji* types, Reiman proposes the following processes used in character formation (Reiman 1983: 222-225). Out of the three works reviewed, this seems to be the only attempt to distinguish character structure (content) from the approach to formation (process).

- a) Combination of a radical and some other component. The radical is placed in its "natural" position (*hen* to the left, *tukuri* to the right, etc.).
- b) Deletion of part of a character and modification of what remains (e.g. 匂 'nioi'; 𪛗 'kun'). Note that in the second example cited by Reiman, the modification in orthographic style is minimal, as the three lines are essentially identical to those in the alleged originating character.
- c) Substitution of one component for another. The example she cites is 𪛘 'fumoto', alleged to derive from 麓 'lu⁴' (林 *forest* + 鹿 *deer*), with the *deer* element being substituted with the element for *below* 下.
- d) Substitution and/or recombination of elements taken from existing Chinese character compounds (辻 'tsuji' *crossroad* deriving from 十字路 'shi²zi⁴lu⁴').
- e) Formation of new character due to an error in the transcription of a cursive form (e.g. 俣 'mata' *crotch* deriving from misinterpretation of the cursive form for 候 'matsu').

4.0. ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT TYPOLOGIES

We are now in a position to assess the categories proposed in the existing literature. Reiman's process categories are less than satisfactory. Category a) makes no distinction as to whether the resulting character is composed of phonetic or semantic indicators. All it states is that a radical (presumably of semantic import) combines with something else.

The examples in b) are problematic in that Reiman and others⁷ are speculating that the character 匂 derives from 韵, a simplification of a Chinese character 韻 'yun'. The problem with their analysis is that 韵 (= 韻) 'yun' has nothing to do with *smell*. Besides, it is unclear why the inner portion of 'nioi' 匂 would be altered the way it was. It seems just as plausible that the character constitutes a semantic compound, wherein the inner element (whose earlier meaning was *dead mother* (Karlgren GSR 566: 匕) and the outer element 𪛗 (meaning *envelop*) could have suggested a corpse enveloped in something.⁸ All speculation aside, what can be said for certain is that the only real connection between 'nioi' and 'yun' appears to a certain degree of graphical similarity.

Category c), we may note, involves a change in character type, from a *keisei moji* to a *kai-i moji*. In the original Chinese character, the 'deer' element 鹿 is clearly phonetic (Karlgren 1209: luk/lu = deer), but in the Japanese the lower element appears to be semantic. Reiman and others assert that the semantic element 下

below replaced the Chinese phonetic 鹿 ‘lu’ (Japanese reading: ‘roku’) in a character meaning *foot of mountain*. The connection between the characters is clear enough, even if the final element combination (林 *forest* and 下 *below*) does not logically lead to the meaning of *foot of mountain* (we would expect it to mean “lower forest” or something of that nature).⁹ It is unclear *why* the person creating the character would choose this combination of elements.

Category d) is speculative in that a cross element 十 in and of itself looks like a typical intersection. The radical 止 (which connotes *proceed* or *advance*) is not found in any of the original characters. It seems perfectly plausible that this character was constructed as a semantic compound (the idea being to proceed 止 from an intersection 十), independently of the Chinese expression.

Most importantly, we should note that Reiman here is combining unlike levels of analysis. Processes c) and d) could be described as the combination of a “radical” and another element, that is, they are the same as a). Process b) is distinct, if we are to believe that the origin is, in fact, what she states it to be. Processes c) and d) then have more to do with the rationale and possible source of inspiration for character formation. Clearly, a newly inspired *kokuji* might easily have been composed in this way irrespective of the alleged origins. Ultimately, Reiman’s analysis of the processes of composition continues to suffer the same flaw as her previous analysis: namely, that it mixes and matches what should logically be distinct levels of analysis.

To resolve these inconsistencies, we will therefore need to separate resulting element structure—that is, the nature of the elements involved and their role in portraying either meaning or reading—from the rationale used in selecting the constituent elements, which is an entirely separate matter. The information we glean from a character ought to reflect the question we are asking. Matching categories that describe different levels of analysis leads to a confusing typology, as we have just seen. The first step to arriving at a typology, then, is to decide which questions we are going to ask. Here are some basic questions, together with examples of the types of answers we would come up with.

- Why they were created: for example, to represent a spoken word or name, to provide a shortcut to writing, etc.
- How the characters came into being: by accident or by design.
- What information the component elements portray: semantic, phonetic, none
- What processes were used: addition, subtraction, combination, substitution, creation of new elements.
- How the characters are used in text: in the general lexicon, in proper names, purely as a phonetic, etc.

We will come back to this issue later and attempt to provide a more exacting model for structural analysis and compositional rationale.

5.0. POSSIBLE PARALLELS WITH THE PHONETIC SEQUENCE PROCESS

One possibility that does not seem to have been explored in the literature to-date is whether we can identify sets of *kokuji* that contain a recurring element used as a phonetic indicator. In other words, can we find anything that resembles the *xiesheng* series found in Chinese-origin characters? For this to happen, several scenarios are possible. For instance, we might begin with a basic character that represents two homophonic words. Later, to resolve the ambiguity of meaning, a semantic determinative (the common term for which is misleadingly “radical”) is added, leaving us with two distinct characters. Alternatively, if over time the reading of one of the words has changed significantly, a phonetic indicator can be added to better reflect the new reading of that word.¹⁰

To explore this possibility, I searched among the characters in *Kokuji no Jiten* and selected candidates that might derive from a logical series of development, whether by principle of semantic or phonological affinity. These characters share a readily identifiable recurring element. In all, four potential series were analyzed.

In choosing candidate recurring elements, I tried to avoid those that were already in use as a phonetic in Chinese-origin characters. Thus, for instance, 働 ‘hatarak-/dou’ was not selected as 動 ‘ugok-/dou’ would be the recurring element, and that already exists in Chinese.¹¹

Element 1

- base 1a: 匂 ‘nioi’
 elements: 勹 envelop + 匕 deceased person (or spoon)
 meaning: smell good
 kaisetu: Attributed by Reiman, Hada and other dictionaries to the omission of the right-hand portion of 韵 ‘yun4’, an alternate character for 韻, meaning rhyme, sound. Following this explanation, the element was then altered (匂 → 匂). According to Gakken Kanwa Daijiten (166), the meaning of harmonious smell derives from an extension of the meaning harmonious sound implied by the original character 韵.¹²
- char 1b: 匂 ‘sagi’
 elements: 亻 man + 匂 good smell
 meaning: proper name
 kaisetu: Pronounced ‘sagi’ and used as a place name (no further information available).

There is not enough data here to draw much of a conclusion as to whether there is any semantic affinity between the two characters. Certainly there is no apparent phonetic affinity between them. Finally, *Kokuji no Jiten* lists another character, 匂, also said to be pronounced ‘sagi’. It could well be that 1b) 匂 is nothing more than a variant of 匂.

We should also note that *Gakken’s kaisetsu* for ‘nioi’ 匂 is unconvincing. The idea of semantic extension is problematic in this case because extension serves as an explanation only if a word (as spoken) were actually used in one original sense (here, to mean *harmonious sound*), and later came to be used in a new, extended sense (*harmonious smell*). But there is no indication in any of the dictionaries I consulted that at some point ‘nioi’ could be used to mean *harmonious sound*, and so semantic extension is an improbable explanation for the character’s current meaning.

Finally, the reader may have noticed that I divided ‘nioi’ into two separate elements. I did this as a matter of convenience. It is difficult to know whether there are actually two elements present, or whether they are to be taken together as one entity. If the person who coined this character knew that 匕 originally meant *dead person*, then he may have wanted to allude to the meaning of *smell* by showing the *encasing* 勹 of a *corpse* 匕. I readily admit that this is purely speculative, and yet, as an alternative explanation, it seems at least as likely as the explanation offered by the various dictionaries. Those who suggest that the character derives from ‘yun4’ 韵 offer no evidence for a semantic connection between 匂 and 韵. Graphical similarity alone is hardly sufficient evidence considering the high number of graphically similar, but totally unrelated, graphemes used in character formation.

Element 2

- base 2a: 青 ‘sozoro’
 elements: reduplication of 青 ‘ao’ blue
 meaning: involuntarily, in spite of oneself
 kaisetu: none given, (same as 漫 ‘sozoro’)
- char 2b: 青 ‘sozoro’
 elements: reduplication of 青 blue + 山 mountain
 meaning: (same as above)
 kaisetu: none given, (same as 漫 ‘sozoro’)

char 2c: 𩇛 'suzuro-ni'
 elements: reduplication of 青 *blue* + 心 *heart*
 meaning: (same as above)
 kaisetsu: none given (same as 漫 'suzuro-ni')

char 2d: 𩇛 'sozoro'
 elements: reduplication of 青 *blue* + 心 *heart*
 meaning: (same as above)
 kaisetsu: none given, (same as 漫 'sozoro')

Again, the *kaisetsu* provided by the dictionary are unhelpful. 2b, 2c, and 2d seem to be derivatives of the base 𩇛. Among all the characters, there is no ostensible semantic connotation of elements, unless 'ao' 青 at some point in time had a connotation of 'sozoro'.¹³ (I have found no indication that this was the case.) Rationale for the use of mountain is also unclear. We could simply conclude that once double-ao was assigned a reading of 'sozoro', it became a phonetic in the case of 2b and 2d. The use of 心 *heart/mind* in 2c and 2d implies that the character's meaning may be loosely connected to an emotion or state of mind. If one knew that some idiom at the time of the characters' composition had something to do with 'ao', then we might have a better sense of the compositional rationale.

Element 3

base 3a: 𩇛 abbreviation of wind 風
 elements: 𩇛 contracted form of wind 風
 meaning: wind
 kaisetu: contraction of a Chinese-origin character wherein the inside portion (𩇛) has been removed to make way for other elements

char 3b: 𩇛 'tako'
 elements: 𩇛 abbrev. wind + 巾 cloth
 meaning: kite
 kaisetu: a cloth that flies in the wind

char 3c: 𩇛 'kogarashi'
 elements: 𩇛 abbrev. wind + 木 tree
 meaning: biting winter wind
 kaisetu: suggestive of a wind blowing forcefully through the trees, a vague reference to the character's meaning

char 3d: 𩇛 'nagi'
 elements: 𩇛 abbrev. wind + 止 stop (orig. *foot*)
 meaning: calm
 kaisetu: suggestive of a wind that has stopped, hence calm

char 3e: 𩇛 'fubuki'
 elements: 𩇛 abbrev. wind + 雪 snow
 meaning: blizzard
 kaisetu: combines wind and snow to connote both conditions simultaneously, hence, blizzard

This set of characters shares a contraction of the character for wind. Throughout the series, the element seems to connote something having to do with wind or weather. The rationale in all four characters is reasonably transparent, and all four could be deemed SS combinations, that is, a combination of semantic elements to roughly indicate what the meaning of the character might be. As in the case of most *kai-i moji*, there is really little chance of guessing its exact meaning by the constituent elements alone. However, once we know the meaning of a character, it is easy enough to see the rationale behind its composition.

Element 4

- Element 4
- base 4a: 𦵏 'kamishimo'
 elements: 上 'kami' *above* + 下 'shimo' *below*
 meaning: *kamishimo* (samurai clothing/formal attire)
 kaisetsu: presumably a reference to the upper and lower garments worn by a samurai in full attire; the character's reading simply combines the native Japanese pronunciations of the elements employed
- char 4b: 𦵏 'kamishimo'
 elements: 𦵏 *clothing* + 𦵏 'kamishimo'
 meaning: *kamishimo* (same as above)
 kaisetsu: clarification of the category of things to which *kamishimo* belongs by the addition of a semantic element for clothing
- char 4c: 峠 'touge'
 elements: 山 *mountain* + 𦵏 *above/below*
 meaning: mountain pass
 kaisetsu: obviously a reference to the climb and descent when traveling over a mountain pass
- char 4d: 埜 'tao'
 elements: 土 *land* + 𦵏 *above/below*
 meaning: place name
 kaisetsu: used as part of the name for a town in Yamaguchi-ken. The town was located in an area where the valleys were steep and the mountains numerous; in other words, from all four directions the town was saddled by steep hills or mountains.
- char 4e: 𦵏 'naku'
 elements: 口 *mouth* + 𦵏 *above/below*
 meaning: to cry (of humans or birds)
 kaisetsu: little given other than that it is equivalent to both *naku* characters. The rationale may possibly have been to combine 口 *mouth* (representing voice) with *above/below* to represent the volume and pitch changes that are so apparent when someone or something cries out.
- char 4f: 𦵏 'kasehi'
 elements: 木 *tree* + 𦵏 *above/below*
 meaning: spool, bobbin
 kaisetsu: none given. We can only speculate that if there were any rationale to the composition of elements, it is that when one winds thread onto a bobbin, one typically moves the thread up and down so as to prevent bulging. Thus, there *may* have been some rationale to the combination of elements at a semantic level. Apparently, there is no connection at the phonetic level.
- char 4g: 鞆 'kohaze'
 elements: 革 *tanned leather* (Nelson rad. 177) + 𦵏 *above/below*
 meaning: a leather shin guard used when traveling in olden times
 kaisetsu: none given, other than to indicate the modern characters used for this word. As with 4f, we can only speculate on the rationale for this character's composition, phonological motivations being clearly ruled out. It may be that leather placed vertically (up/down) along the leg would offer some hint as to the character's meaning. Clearly, neither sound nor meaning could be guessed at when seeing this character for the first time.

char 4h: 𩇑 ‘kohaze’
 elements: 韋 *tanned leather* (Nelson rad. 178) 𠂔 + 𠂔 *above/below*
 meaning: a leather shin guard used when traveling in olden times
 kaisetsu: Obviously, this character is a variant of 4g. One of the two characters was probably the source character, and the other may have come into being when someone failed to remember which *leather* radical to place to the left of 𠂔.

In the set of characters using *above/below* as the primary complement to a radical, we find a variety of processes at work. We can surmise that the original element, ‘kamishimo’, was a cleverly devised character to represent an existing word used in reference to samurai clothing.¹⁴ A *clothing* radical 衤 may later have been added for clarification, perhaps to avoid ambiguity when other characters using 𠂔 came into use. 4c (𠂔) has a clear SS rationale, and 4d (𠂔) is of similar structure and meaning despite the fact that it was used exclusively as a place name. 4e (𠂔) and 4f (𠂔) may possibly have the same SS structure, though the relation among the elements is less apparent. 4g (𩇑) likewise appears to be a veiled reference to the character’s meaning, and 4h (𩇑) is clearly a variant way of writing the same word using semantically equivalent components.

The above sets of characters 1 - 4 show a marked contrast to the extremely common process of employing the *keisei moji* principle with *xiesheng* series in Chinese. In *kokuji*, a phonetic rationale may be used to devise a new character. Phonetic consistency, however, generally arises only when two characters are clearly variants representing the same word (we saw this with ‘sozoro’). In many *kokuji*, the rationale behind character structure appears to follow the *kai-i moji* principle. This was especially notable with *wind* and, to a lesser extent, with *above/below*.

6.0. TRENDS IN THE RATIONALE BEHIND CHARACTER STRUCTURE

From my exploration of the available sources, a number of things become apparent. First, there are many *kokuji* whose rationale is difficult if not impossible to discern based on the available data. Glancing through Hada’s dictionary at random confirms this: many *kaisetsu* do little more than to indicate that the *kokuji* in question is equivalent to another character that is now considered more standard. Lack of data on compositional rationale is apparent even for characters containing an unambiguously semantic element. For instance, characters containing the *fish* radical (魚) tend to represent fish species or food preparations made using fish as an ingredient. However, in most cases, the significance of the accompanying element is unclear.

Secondly, as we would expect, initial elements were sometimes motivated phonetically. But what is striking in the series of characters with recurring elements is that at most one of the additional (and presumably derivative) characters would continue to use that element as a phonetic indicator; and in that case, the new character could be construed as no more than an alternate form containing an additional element of (usually) semantic import. Otherwise, when identifiable, the rationale among sets of characters with a primary recurring element appeared to employ the *kai-i moji* principle.

Ultimately, it is fairly clear that among series of characters with recurring elements, the process of creating phonetic compounds by applying a radical to a phonetic so as to distinguish homophones or near homophones was not as extensive in Japanese *kokuji* creation as it was in Chinese.

7.0. TOWARDS A MORE FORMAL TYPOLOGY

Having examined three assessments of character typing for *kokuji* (Hada, Reiman 1, and Reiman 2), and having then explored the compositional rationale for characters containing the same primary recurring element, we can begin to refine our model for analyzing character composition. I suggested earlier that it would serve to be cautious in describing a character’s composition by making sure which question we were answering. Based on the questions I proposed, I now offer a tentative list of possibilities at each level of analysis.

Motivations for Composing a New Character

- to represent a *new* word in the language
- to represent an *existing* word in the language
- to represent a proper name
- to provide a shortcut to writing or transcription
- none (creation was accidental)

How the Character Came into Being

- by design
- by accident

Rationales for Character Composition

- to provide phonetic clues to its pronunciation
- to provide semantic clues to its meaning
- to provide both phonetic and semantic clues simultaneously through one element
- none (an apparently arbitrary sign)

Types of Elements

- phonetic indicators (reading-suggestive)
- semantic indicators (meaning-connotative)
- dual indicators (suggesting both meaning and reading simultaneously)
- abstract symbols with no appreciable semantic or phonetic value¹⁵

Processes of Composition

- use of a single element corresponding to one of the above types
- compounding of any of the above element types
- reduplication of a character or element
- deletion of one or more elements from an existing character
- addition of one or more elements to an existing character
- creation of abstract symbols

How the Character Is or Was Used

- to represent a proper name
- to represent words in the general lexicon

8.0. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I did not elaborate on the issue of how *kokuji* are used in the writing system, as this issue is properly beyond the scope of this inquiry. Clearly, many *kokuji* were short-lived and are now obsolete. Some were replaced by two-character compounds (thus reversing the process by which many *kokuji* were created), while others gave way to characters considered “correct” and “standard.” As Japan-made characters were sometimes felt to be inferior to Chinese-origin characters (Reiman 1990: 21), we should not be surprised to see that so many *kokuji* have become obsolete over time. On this note, it seems that only eight *kokuji* are considered part of the *Joyo Kanji* set (Commons: website abstract).

Nevertheless, I have hoped to demonstrate that, generally speaking, whereas the motivation for composing characters was—just as in any other writing system—to create ways to represent new or existing words, the rationale behind the composition was heavily influenced by the semantic compound (*kai-i moji*) principle. This is apparently sometimes true even for place names, as we saw in the case of 棹 ‘tao’.¹⁶ Certainly, phonetic compounds were created, but not to the extent one might expect in series of characters containing a recurring element like those examined above (the contrast with Chinese *xiesheng* series is marked). And further, by distinguishing the scope or level of analysis when assessing the nature of a character, we should hope to avoid infelicitous etymologies (Gakken’s “semantic drift” for *nioi*) or the mixing and matching of different levels of analysis (Reiman) found in some of the current literature.

I should close by adding that my proposed listing of levels of analysis is, on the one hand, preliminary; and on the other, overly simplistic. I believe that character rationales have a better starting point if taking into consideration Qiu Xigui's analysis of character formation.¹⁷ Thus, the categories and subcategories above may well be more complex than those suggested above. However, a treatment on that level of depth would involve introducing a long and complex analysis which, alas, is well beyond the scope of the present paper. Finally, it is apparent that certain elements simultaneously provide phonetic and semantic clues to reading and meaning.¹⁸ Using a simpler analysis, as I have done in this paper, I nevertheless hoped to clarify that the rationale for a character's composition is a distinct issue from its use at a morphophonemic level in the writing system, and to show that, statistically, the rationales for *kokuji* composition were weighted differently than they are for Chinese-origin characters.

NOTES

1. Some dictionaries lump the second and third definitions into one "made in Japan" category (Shinsen Kanwa: 274).
2. Examples can be found in Hada (3): 𠂔 'tomo', 𠂔 'toki'.
3. There is considerable controversy surrounding the translation of 会意文字. Some sources are content to use the term *compound ideograph*. Norman's translation of *Chinese Writing* by Qiu Xigui employs the term *syssemantograph*. To avoid entering this argument, I will simply use the Japanese term *kai-i moji*, with the understanding that we are referring to characters where two or more elements combine to provide a rough allusion to the character's meaning.
4. I use the term *phonetic composite* here to distinguish from *phonetic compound*, which is usually reserved for characters combining a semantic determinative and a phonetic element.
5. I cannot corroborate Reiman's claim that 'nagi' 凧 is a combination of *kun* phonetic elements since I see no evidence that 止 has a *kun* reading of 'gi'. Other examples that she cites under this category (e.g., 'shigi') suffer from the same problem.
6. I learned of this through direct correspondence with Dr. James Landers.
7. See Shirokawa 1243; Todou 166.
8. But of course, this too is pure speculation, and my suggestion suffers the drawback that we would not expect that, of the two characters used for 'nioi', (匂 and 臭), this one is used for pleasant scents while the other is used for foul odors. It should be the reverse!
9. Actually, dictionaries do also mention the reading 'yamamori', but the meaning seems to be newer and used only in Japanese to mean the official in charge of a mountain forest.
10. For a full treatment of this issue, see Boltz.
11. It is curious that 'hatarak-' 働, though avowedly a *kokuji*, is attributed an "honorary *on*" reading and used with an *on* reading as if it had been a Chinese-origin character.
12. Below, I present arguments to refute this assertion.
13. Consider, for instance, how *blue* in English can connote a mood.
14. The word itself is reminiscent of the English expression "from head to toe" when speaking about one's appearance or attire.
15. As we saw, daraa 𠂔 ('dollar') and onsu 𠂔 ('ounce') have no obvious semantic or phonetic indicators (Hada 12).
16. Reiman speaks of other place-name characters whose elements allude to the local terrain. She suggests that place name characters may also refer to the focus of local commerce in the area or an important historical event that took place at the location.
17. See *Chinese Writing* by Qiu Xigui.
18. The work of Boltz, DeFrancis, and others makes it clear that characters should not be interpreted as ideograms, that is, symbols whose meaning is clear independent of the words in a language.

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JAPANESE COLONIALISM (1910-1945) AND KOREAN INTELLECTUALS: THE CASE OF YI KWANG-SU

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This paper is about the conflicted consciousness of Korean intellectuals during Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945) as represented by Yi Kwang-su (1892-?), who was a socio-cultural icon of his time. Japan-educated and multi-talented, Yi Kwang-su was Korea's first modern novelist, a literary theorist, and an idealistic and dedicated teacher. He was also a reform-minded social critic who crusaded for Korea's transformation from a conservative Confucian patriarchal society into a modern civilization. Most of all, he was a staunch nationalist who believed that his life mission was to work for the empowerment of Korea and the preservation of her sovereignty in the face of foreign colonial encroachment, mostly from Japan. However, in mid-career, he changed his nationalistic position and began to collaborate with the Japanese, thereby tarnishing his former reputation as a patriotic leader and Korean intellectual. Yi's change in political commitment disheartened, disappointed, and even enraged his compatriots, who labeled him a traitor who sold out to Japanese colonialists. But the issue of Yi's metamorphosis is not as simple as it first might appear. In this paper I address Yi Kwang-su's collaboration and examine how and why Yi shifted his political stance and explore what it meant to him and to Korean intellectuals at large.

The best sources for understanding Yi Kwang-su's nationalist position and his subsequent pro-Japanese turning are *Minjok Kaejoron* (On Reform of National Character), first published in 1921, and his autobiography *Na ūi kobaek* (My Confession), originally published in 1948 during his post-colonial Japanese collaboration trial. *Minjok Kaejoron* revealed Yi Kwang-su's shift from anti-Japanese nationalism to cultural nationalism that focused on the cultivation of Korean character. Yi believed that Korea was colonized by Japan because the Korean character was not well suited for modernity. Koreans were not well-equipped for the progressive industry, science and political thought that characterized Western civilization. He stressed the importance of reforming Korea's traditional values such as gender inequality and classism, both of which were based on Confucian ideology. The origin of Yi's intellectualism derived from his knowledge of the West's democratic and capitalist systems. To achieve his ends he had to confront Korea's backwardness and the oppression of colonial rule. He concentrated on solving the former problem by compromising his political aim because Yi believed that Korea could not be an independent nation until it modernized itself politically and militarily.

Written in the post-colonial period (1945-1950), *Na ūi kobaek* was an apologia for his collaboration with the Japanese rule during the very end of colonial rule. As the Japanese colonial policy became stricter, Yi became less nationalistic. Yi, however, justified his collaboration by viewing it as another way to preserve Korea and her people from complete destruction. His confession disappointed many Korean people who expected his repentance and wanted him to play a role as an intellectual in liberated Korea. He justified his collaboration on the ground that his brand of nationalism was about attaining modernity rather than fighting for political independence. He deceived himself by arguing that the collaboration would be another way to preserve Korea from the conflict between colonial powers and to take advantage of learning the development of Japan by helping them.

Though Yi Kwang-su fought for Korea's independence, he eventually changed his view of how to achieve that independence. Rather than continuing to fight against Japanese colonial rule, he advocated a gradual change of Korean character within the colonial system. This transition began with his returning from Shanghai in 1921. While Yi worked for the Shanghai Provisional Government, he was influenced by An Ch'angho's gradualist viewpoint of nationalism which his faction called "the domestic nationalist movement" and "long-term national development" to attain political independence (Robinson 66). After The March First Movement (1919) in Korea, the new policy of the Japanese colonial government, called Cultural Policy, permitted partial freedom of speech and social activities if they did not have political aims. Korean nationalist leaders and regular civilians planned a political demonstration inspired by "Wilsonian Idealism," which permitted colonized people to have the right of "self-determination." However, this political demonstration for Korean independence was suppressed by Japanese military forces. The Japanese reconsidered their colonial policy for a "successful Japanese approach to long-term control" (Robinson 43-47). In this situation, Yi Kwang-

su triggered a cultural nationalism that concentrated on reforming Korean national character by educating future leaders and attempting to develop Korea's economy.

Yi elaborates in *Minjok Kaejoron* that his nationalist activities were based on the belief that the best way of regaining Korean independence was through moral and spiritual cultivation of Korean national character. In full knowledge of the brutal and autocratic nature of Japanese colonial rule, Yi saw the impossibility or futility of open confrontation with Japanese colonialists. Instead, Yi insisted that Koreans should concentrate on developing their inner resources and potential through modern institutional education and self-cultivation, taking advantage of the modernization programs promoted in Korea by the Japanese. Yi envisioned self-empowerment of Koreans to be undertaken within the colonial parameters and framework provided by the Japanese authorities. Yi's nationalist pursuit was a gradualist approach in contrast to more radical and militant leaders of his time, who were engaged in anti-Japanese resistance movements outside Korea—mostly in Manchurian areas. He believed that any nationalist movement should be connected with the Korean people in Korea, rather than pursuing, from outside Korea, political independence from Japanese colonial rule. He criticized violent action abroad to overthrow Japanese colonial rule for not being connected with the improvement of the Koreans in Korea. To lead the nationalist movement under the eye of the Japanese colonial government, Yi Kwang-su emphasized that reforming Korean character required the elimination of certain Korean traditions. Since a political independence movement under Japanese colonial rule could not be guaranteed to last, he urged that an apolitical movement, aimed at the reform of the Korean character, would be more effective, and that this reform would gradually bring about political independence.

Yi Kwang-su's ideas about the reform of Korean national character implied that Korea's Confucian society based on class and gender inequality prevented Korea from progressing. He emphasized the importance of supporting the middle class intellectual and of cultivating each individual's endeavor to determine his own fate (Robinson 72). The future leader of Korea, who originated from the middle-class, would help to exacerbate the end of class inequality.

His concept of national character was based on England and Meiji Japan, both of which had built up a modern nation based on democratic capitalism. Yi saw that the success of these two countries could be attributed to national character. To change the defective Korean national character, Yi emphasized the importance of intellectuals being educated by Western knowledge and receiving moral, physical and leadership training. Yi actualized his vision by organizing the Suyang tong-u-hoe (The Association of Moral Cultivation). His organization "bridged the gap between the core leadership, the repository of modern, nationalistic values, and the Korean masses" (Robinson 69-74).

Yi Kwang-Su's theory caused a lot of debate among politically independent activists, and, intentionally or not, was limited by theoretical problems. First, he showed the Korean character in a bad light; he regarded it as the something that needed to be changed. Second, "*Minjok Kaejoron*" dismissed all the accomplishments of Korean history and culture and Koreans' endeavors to modernize their country. Rather than envisioning a Korean future linked with Korean history and culture, he saw a modern Korea that relied on Western civilization. His criticism of the pre-nationalist movement belittled Koreans' endeavors to modernize Korea and build a modern nation-state. Third, Yi Kwang-Su thought that the negative aspects of the Korean character were responsible for Korea's failure to build an independent Korean nation-state. Finally, Yi Kwang-Su's perspective on any political movement was a negative one.

In *Na ūi kobaek*, Yi Kwang-su justified his collaboration; he believed that Korean intellectuals needed to find ways to survive under colonial rule. To lead an effective war against China and the United States during the Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War, the Japanese government, which believed that it needed to intensify its control over Korea, banned Korean newspapers and Korean language education in schools. It also required that everyone in the country take on a Japanese last name. In this environment, any nationalist movement was impossible (Lee 48).

Yi's gradualist nationalism did not survive the change of Japanese colonial policy. Even his modified views were oppressed by Japanization policy. Suyang tong-u-hoe Sagon (The Incident of Moral Cultivation Friends' Association, 1937) brought about the end of his nationalist activity. It pursued his proposals of self-discipline and education, and the Japanese government charged his organization of anti-government activity.

The members of this organization, including An Ch'ang-ho, were arrested and suffered confinement and physical torture. In March 1938, An Ch'ang-ho, Yi's teacher and the leader of the nationalistic movement, died in March 1938 after having been tortured in prison. In *Na ūi kobaek*, Yi Kwang-su confessed that the leadership of Suyang tong-u-hoe transferred to him upon his mentor's death. This transfer meant that the fate of its members was Yi Kwang-su's responsibility. He eventually sacrificed his fame as a staunch nationalist to save the members and, finally, accepted the chairmanship of the pro-Japanese Choson munin hyophoe (Korean Association of Literary Men in December, 1939; Lee 48-49). He stated in his autobiography that this was the transitional point of his status from being a nationalist to a collaborator. In fact, in *Na ūi kobaek*, the successful release of the Suyang tong-u-hoe members in 1941 was a direct result of his collaboration (Kwang-su *Na ūi kobaek* 254-266).

Yi's justification for collaborating reveals two truths about his struggles as an intellectual between 1937 and 1945. First, during these eight years Korean intellectuals could not participate in the nationalist movement within Japanese colonial rule because colonial policy did not allow it. Second, Yi came to regard his collaboration as another kind of nationalism and justified it as a legitimate way to preserve Korea. He claimed that unless Korean leaders held some measure of power, the Japanese would destroy the Korean people. In addition, by associating with Japan, Koreans could request equal rights. Finally, he insisted that young Korean students could learn military techniques by participating in the war with Japan. In other words, he believed that his collaboration was an act of self-sacrifice; by collaborating with Japan he sacrificed his fame as a nationalist hero in order to help his people (Kwang-su *Na ūi kobaek* 266-274).

After the liberation from Japan (1945), Yi Kwang-su was accused of being a traitor to his nation. In *Na ūi kobaek* he wrote what he could not express his happiness for the liberation of his nation because he knew that he was a traitor. During the post-colonial period, Korean people wanted to eliminate the influences of Japanese colonial rule from their language, culture and thought. The punishment of collaborators was one of the first priorities in the decolonization movement. Yi Kwang-su's self-justification of his pro-Japanese collaboration disappointed the Korean people who expected a contrite confession. On February 9, 1949, Yi Kwang-su was arrested for his collaboration act and was released in August 1949 due to his bad health. After the Korean War broke out in June 1950, North Korean soldiers brought him to an undisclosed location. His life story reflects a turbulent time in Korea's history. He went through the oppression of Japanese colonial rule as a nationalist, educator, and writer. However, he ultimately collaborated with the colonialists and was finally kidnapped to North Korea by the North Korean military during the Korean War (1950-1953).

Professor Song claims that "[the] political struggle against the Japanese to moral exhortation to Koreans indicates Yi's self-deception, which stems from Yi's guilt after giving up his resistance against the enemy, the Japanese imperialists" (Lee 52). Professor Song points out that Yi's self-justification was to alleviate his guilt and humiliation that he had given up his obligation and privilege as a pioneering intellectual and nationalist. Kim Pung-gu argued that "the social environment . . . caused all writers and intellectuals, including Yi to sink into humiliation; political dominance over cultural activities in traditional politics as well as under Japanese rule, whichever way politics changed its direction all intellectual activities had to follow" (Lee 52). Professor Kim thinks that Yi's cultural nationalism had been destined to perish because he allowed his nationalism to depend on and be determined by Japanese colonial policy. Japan is a model of the modern nation state that Korea had to reach as well as an imperialistic nation that Korean people should fight against. Yi's nationalism is the result of confusion between the modernity and political independence of Korea. Yi's idea of modernity modeled the nations of the colonial power and his envisioning needed to be concerned about Korean autonomy to attain modernity rather than attempting to follow in the footsteps of Western civilization.

Between 1937 and 1945 Korean intellectuals did not have many choices. Some intellectuals fled to foreign countries to continue their nationalist activities; leading a nationalist movement within Korea was impossible. Others who stayed in Korea secluded themselves to the countryside where they held fast to their political beliefs but did not act on them. Other intellectuals collaborated with the Japanese by working for the government, making a living at a Japanese sponsored company, teaching at a Japanese-run educational institution, or writing for a press managed by the Japanese colonial system. As a representative nationalist figure, Yi Kwang-su disappointed the Korean people because he abandoned his initial convictions and methods. His situation reflected how many Korean intellectuals lost all means of saving their consciences at the end of

the colonial period. A Korean intellectual who had once been a national hero had cooperated with the Japanese and became a traitor who had to be punished.

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REQUEST STRATEGIES AND CHINESE CULTURAL VALUES

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores Chinese request strategies used in the PRC based upon studies by Zhang (1995a, 1995b) and Lee-Wong (1994, 1997). The findings of these studies demonstrate that types of request strategies like conventional indirectness and directness are shared in most languages, but their illocutionary force and pragmatic function are language specific due to different cultural values and expectations. Chinese culture values sincerity and clarity over indirectness. The need for sincerity and clarity ensures Chinese speakers can use Imperatives without sounding imperious, as long as social relationships are duly observed. Indirectness is mainly achieved through external modifications like small talk, supportive moves, and politeness through internal modifications such as polite markers and address terms rather than the request strategy type per se. Though directness strategy is preferred in the PRC, the conventional indirectness might be most favored outside the PRC as reported in Zhang's studies. The difference in the preferred request strategies among different Chinese speech communities also suggests that the study of requests should be conducted in a wider variety of Chinese speech communities before we can draw a general picture of the primary features of Chinese request behavior.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Requests are a common social interaction. The primary features of request behavior are expected to be shared in most languages. Based on this assumption, Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) in their Cross-Culture Speech Acts Realization Project (CCSARP) have developed a set of major coding categories that have been attested and proved applicable to many languages including Chinese (Lii-Shih, 1994; Hong 1996, 1997a, 1997b; Lee-Wong, 1994, 1997; Zhang, 1995a, 1995b). However, these studies also show that the preference for strategy types may differ from one language to another due to cultural values and expectations. Types of request strategies like conventional indirectness (CID) and directness (D) are shared in most languages, but their illocutionary force and pragmatic function are language specific and culture specific. Chinese speakers, for example, may use the imperative pattern 'Please tell me where...' to ask for directions. This direct bold on-record form, though socially acceptable and polite in Chinese, might sound rude to English speakers, to whom the most appropriate pattern would be a query preparatory 'Excuse me, could you please tell me where...' Failure to understand the difference in the concept and the pragmatic force of strategy types in different languages may cause cross-cultural pragmatic failure.

It is generally acknowledged that the most frequently used request strategy in English is CID. And what is the preferred strategy in Chinese? According to Zhang (1995a), CID is the strategy that Chinese speakers most frequently use; however, Lee-Wong's research (1994) shows the leading strategy is D. Their findings seem quite distinct. Why do their studies lead to opposite findings? How can this distinction be accounted for? And what is the most common request strategy type that Chinese speakers prefer, CID or D?

This study attempts to address these questions based upon Zhang's and Lee-Wong's studies. I will first look into their studies to see how CID and D are realized in Chinese to fulfill the function of requests, and then I will explore the Chinese cultural values and norms behind request strategies. Finally, I will examine and compare their research methods and the data analysis. Since Chinese (Mandarin) is spoken in different speech communities such as mainland China (PRC), Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, request strategies preferred in each community may vary due to the difference in their own local cultures and their contact with other languages. Request strategies of Chinese can hardly be discussed in general. This study will be focused on the request strategies used in the PRC. Thus, Chinese in the current paper refers to the Chinese spoken in the PRC except when otherwise noted.

2.0. THE FINDINGS OF ZHANG AND LEE-WONG

Of those studies on request behavior in the PRC, Zhang's (1995a, 1995b) and Lee-Wong's (1994, 1997) have been so far the most comprehensive and exhaustive. In Zhang's (1995a) study, CID, which features Query Preparatory (54.2%) and Suggestory Formula (7.2%), is "the leading choice for making a request,"

followed by Directness (Mood Derivable 11.4% and Want Statement 8.3%). The results of her study are provided in Table 1 followed by nine types of examples used by the participants in the study.

Table 1. Distribution of strategies in three levels of directness (%)

Conventional Indirect	59.2 ^a
Direct	26.4
Indirect	9.5
Missing Data	3.1
Opt Out	2.2

Note. Reproduced from Zhang (1995a, p. 48).

^aThere might be some errors in calculation. The percentage of CID should be 61.4% and D 19.7%

Zhang's distribution of strategies (requests at different degrees of directness: D>CID)

A. Direct:

- (1) 把車開走。(mood derivable, prototype: imperative) 11.4%
Ba che kaizou.
Move the car.
- (2) 請您趕快把車開走。(explicit performative) 0.3%
Qing nin gankuai ba che kaizou.
Drive the car away immediately, please.
- (3) 我想讓你提前一週做課堂報告，行嗎？(hedged performative) 0.6%
Wo xiang rang ni tiquan yi zhou zuo ketang baogao, xing ma?
I'd like to ask you to do your presentation a week earlier, is that all right?
- (4) 車得馬上開走。(Locution derivable, i.e. obligation statement) 5.8%
Che dei mahsnag kaizou.
The car must be removed immediately.
- (5) 他們希望您能把第四章修改一下。(want statement) 8.3%
Tamen xiwang nin neng ba disì zhang xiugai yixia.
They hope that you can revise Chapter 4 again.

B. Conventionally Indirect:

- (6) 二位幫幫忙怎麼樣？(suggestive formula) 7.2%
Erwei bangbang mang zenmeyang?
How about the two of you lending a hand?
- (7) 你能借我一百塊錢嗎？(query preparatory) 54.2%
Ni neng jie wo yibai kuai qian ma?
Could you lend me 100 dollars?

C. Indirect:

- (8) 你還沒打掃房間呢。(strong hint) 5.6%
Ni hai mei dasao fangjian ne.
You haven't cleaned up the room yet.
- (9) 小王，你的女朋友剛才來找你。她說半小時以後再到宿舍來找你，讓你在這兒等她。(mild hint) 1.4%
Xiao Wang, ni de nu pengyou gangcai lai zhao ni. Ta shuo ban xiaoshi yihou zai lai zhao ni, rang ni zai zher deng ta.
Xiao Wang, your girl friend came to see you just now. She said that she would like be back in half an hour. She asked you to wait for her here. (Zhang, 1995, pp. 41-47)

From the above rating list, we can see that CID and D are the most favored strategies in making requests with the former overwhelming the latter. Based on her findings, Zhang claims that “Chinese requesters share their preference for conventional indirectness with a variety of western speech communities,” as this strategy “allows speakers to express their request intent unambiguously while being polite at the same time” (Zhang, 1995a, pp. 47-48). External modification (EM) is mandatory in CID requests, as politeness and indirectness are achieved not through the CID strategy but rather through EM, i.e., small talk or supportive moves (to explain the situation and the reason why S must ask H to do something for S). On the contrary, Lee-Wong’s (1994) study shows Impositives (including Imperatives 50.4%, Direct Questions 15.2%, Want/Need Statements 5.1%, and Presumptive Statements 4.7%) “as the most frequently used main strategy” (p. 493) in Chinese, while CID is ranked second in her list of frequency distribution, shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequency Distribution of main request type (%) based on Lee-Wong’s Figure 1

	Interview	Questionnaire
Imperatives (direct)	73.4	75.3
Conventional Indirect	19.2	18.9
Hints (Indirect)	1.4	1.1
Combined strategies (CID & D)	6	4.2

Note. Data reproduced from Lee-Wong (1994, p. 492).

The 74.4% (on average) high percentage of impositive usage in Lee-Wong’s study is far ahead that of all the language groups in CCSARP. Imperatives of the four substrategies under Impositives lead by 50%. Lee-Wong concludes that in Chinese, “unlike English and most other European languages, Imperatives are not regarded as impolite” (Lee-Wong, 1994, p. 492). The underpinning of her respondents’ preference for the level of directness in their communicative style is “the emphasis on striking a delicate balance between meaning and utterance,” i.e. “say no more than you need to” (1994, p. 495). The politeness is achieved through internal modification (IM) like polite markers and address terms, so the use of IM is mandatory in Lee-Wong’s Imperatives.

The findings of Zhang’s and Lee-Wong’s studies in Chinese request strategies seem quite contradictory. One is CID and the other is D, but both require modification. EM in Zhang’s CID functions to achieve politeness and indirectness while IM in Lee-Wong’s D are mainly employed as polite markers. But why are modifications so important in Chinese request strategies? How do they fulfill their function in mitigating request forces and achieving politeness? In the following section, we will look into the relations between modification, directness and politeness in Chinese request behaviors.

3.0. MODIFICATION, DIRECTNESS AND POLITENESS

Modifications, according to the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka, et al., 1989) definition, can be internal or external. Their main function is to serve as mitigators or polite markers. Internal modifications refer to elements within the request utterance proper (linked to the Head Act), e.g., in Chinese *qing* ‘please’, and sentence-final tags, *keyima* ‘is that all right’, while external modifications such as supportive moves or small talk are external to the Head Act occurring either before or after it (Faerch and Kasper, 1989), as illustrated in example (10), where the underlined part is the Head Act, but both IM and EM are optional and language specific.

- (10) I’d like to buy a TV, but I don’t have enough money. So you see, could you lend me some money? I mean, if you happen to have some.”

Modifications are usually expected to be found in CID, but their realization and perception vary via different cultures. In English, for example, IM is mandatory in CID while EM is optional. However, in Chinese, Zhang (1995b) argues, EM of (request) utterances rather than IM is mandatory. That is to say, “the formulation of the utterance itself and its internal modification do not constitute indirectness” (p. 83). To the native Chinese respondents in her studies, all the nine strategy types were more or less equally direct, as these strategies were represented as single utterances, though they did differ with respect to their politeness degrees. Thus, “indirectness in Chinese is achieved mainly through utterance external linguistic build-ups, i.e., small talk or supportive moves, rather than utterance internal devices, e.g., modals, particles, pronouns, etc.” (1995b, p. 84).

Supportive moves, especially Pregrounders, in Chinese function as a mitigating device for request force because Chinese people feel obligated to explain the situation and the reason why they must ask another person to do something for them. Furthermore, Grounders alone are capable of conveying request intention and serve as “feelers, sounding out the possibility for compliance” (Zhang, 1995a, p. 65). Indirectness by lengthy hints is, therefore, used to achieve politeness by providing interlocutors with chances to constantly observe and balance each other’s face through the discourse. Also, request intention can be acceptably denied by the speaker or purposely ignored by the hearer (Weizman, 1989, p. 93). Defined and realized in this way, Zhang points out that “how a particular speech act is realized is unrelated to indirectness” (1995b, p. 84). That is why Zhang argues that “in Chinese the distinction between directness and indirectness in individual utterances seems to be overridden by the distinction in politeness” (1995b, p. 82). In other words, the request utterance proper only reflects the degree of politeness, not of indirectness.

Internal Modification, like EM in Zhangs’ CID, is mandatory in Lee-Wong’s Imperatives, as she claims that the high preference for Impositives at 74.4% by the interviewees of her studies partly explains the need for speakers to adopt a form of strategic politeness by way of IM (1997, p. 392). In her data, internal modifications—in particular terms of address and polite expressions—are exploited as the basic lexicon for expressing norms of politeness. Normative politeness in Chinese “places greater value on appropriate address form use than any superficial demonstration of conveying the intention not to impose” (Lee-Wong, 1994, p. 499). To a Chinese addressee, the utterance in (10) rather than in (11) is perceived to be more polite and more favored, though it is direct. The face threat implicit in the Imperative in (10) can, thus, be mitigated by the address term *Daye* ‘elderly father’ and the polite marker *qing* ‘please’.

- (11) 大爺，請問，北京火車站在哪儿？ (imperative + internal modification)
Daye, qingwen, Beijing huochezhan zai nar ?
Daye (polite address form for elderly male) please may I ask where Beijing station is?
- (12) 你能告訴我北京火車站在哪儿嗎？ (CID)
 Ni neng gaosu wo Beijing huachezhan zai nar ma ?
 Can you tell me where Beijing station is? (Lee-Wong, 1994, p. 499)

In addition to address terms, other usual forms of IM used by Lee-Wong’s respondents are syntactic downgraders like conditionals (if...do X), verb reduplication (e.g. *kankan* / ‘look look’), appealers (use of tags, e.g. *hao ma* ‘is it all right’), and utterance-final modal particles *BA*, *A* & *NE* (which sometimes appear in medial position). The main function of *BA*, *A* & *NE* is to serve both as a mitigator and polite marker in requests, but they are only downward and in an informal context. Their pragmatic force is determined by their functions in requests. *BA* acts as a marker of ingroup solidarity while *A* signals informality and casualness. *NE*, as a pragmatic particle, not only reflects “S[peaker]’s covert thinking and communicates S’s concern for his/her positive face and that of H[earer]’s negative face,” but also reflects “the relative uncertainty about the acceptability of the propositional content of an utterance. It is this intention to convey uncertainty which weakens the illocutionary force of a bold on record request in a context of high R[relative ranking/weighting of the degree of imposition]” (Lee-Wong, 1997, p. 399). Therefore, the particle *NE* can play the dual function that is usually fulfilled by EM in Zhang’s CID. The usage of these particles is unique in Chinese. There are no semantic/syntactic equivalents in English. The same pragmatic function in English is usually realized by syntactic choices like tense, aspect and mood. The most frequently used internal modifier in Chinese is *qing* ‘please’. Like English ‘please’, *qing* is used as a polite marker, but it differs in many other respects. *Qing* (Hong, 1996; Zhang, 1995a) is always used as a main verb, usually appears at the initial position of the request utterance, and is never used as an upgrader. *Qing* together with modal particles *BA*, *A* and *NE* and also address terms plays an indispensable role in the communicative function of politeness and enables Chinese speakers to pick up direct strategies like Imperatives without sounding imperious, though direct and perspicuous. To acquire the usage of these words is one of the major keys to the realization of request behavior in economy and politeness.

To sum up, indirectness in Chinese is realized mainly through external modifications rather than the indirect strategy type per se, and politeness is realized primarily by using internal modification like polite markers and address terms. The use of CID and D in Chinese, therefore, usually requires modifications to go with them, otherwise they will not be sociopragmatically acceptable, especially when politeness and/or

indirectness have to be taken care of. Now the question is if CID and D are both acceptable in the Chinese language given a proper context, then which is preferred in Chinese culture? The examination of the Chinese cultural values of directness and politeness might provide us with an answer to this question.

4.0. CULTURAL VALUES OF DIRECTNESS AND POLITENESS

Indirectness, Blum-Kulka (1987) argues, does not necessarily imply politeness. A certain adherence to the pragmatic clarity of the message is an essential part of politeness. She thus defines politeness as “the interactional balance achieved between the need for pragmatic clarity and the need to avoid coerciveness” (p. 131). This definition points out the interrelation between two basic elements of politeness, clarity and coerciveness. The balance of their relationship will be altered and adjusted with the change in need and want. If pragmatic clarity is the need, then clarity will override coerciveness. If there is a strong concern for avoiding coerciveness or face wants, then clarity will be sacrificed. Thus, the parameter for measuring politeness depends on what a particular society needs most. For instance, the core of American culture is the traditional Anglo-American value of ‘personal autonomy/independence’ (Wierzbicka, 1996) or ‘individualism’ (Yum, 1988), whereas in Chinese culture the core is ‘social relationship’ (Yum, 1988).

In the traditional Anglo-American values, as Wierzbicka (1996) observes, “personal autonomy is put above other values (such as, for example above family ties)” (p. 321). “From this Anglo-American point of view the important thing is to ‘assert oneself’ by expressing, clearly and unambiguously, one’s thoughts and one’s wants, while at the same time sharing respect for the addressee’s autonomy” (p. 325). It is this English personal autonomy that makes a distinction in evaluating Imperatives between Chinese and English. English speakers consider that the use of Imperatives for a request will threaten the hearer’s personal autonomy because to force or to push others to do something against their own wills is rude and aggressive and, hence, impolite. Therefore, request interrogative is much more appropriate and polite when the speaker wants to show respect for the hearer’s autonomy. As opposed to this value of ‘personal autonomy’, Chinese society values ‘social relationship’ over everything else. Its underpinning idea can be well described by Wierzbicka’s “cultural scripts”. When S wants H to do X for S, just say so, if S thinks H will do it, and both S and H feel something good towards each other. Or when S wants H to do X that S thinks is good for H if H does it, just say it. In Chinese culture such imposition is acceptable and even welcome, though it sounds rude or offensive to the ears of English speakers.

These cultural values and beliefs in Chinese can be traced back to Confucian concepts of *li* ‘propriety’, *ren* ‘humanism’, and *renlun* ‘ethic relation’, as well as rhetorical ‘Relevance’. At the core of Confucianism is a strong concern for interpersonal relationships, i.e. the interaction of human hearts. In the process of interaction, the most important thing is to view others’ interests over one’s own and treat each other according to the social relations set out in the social hierarchy, i.e. *Renlun*. This hierarchy encompasses five cardinal human relationships: loyalty between king and participants, closeness between father and son, distinction in duty between husband and wife, obedience between elders and youngers, and mutual faith between friends (Yum, 1988, p. 376). In addition there is a basic maxim: *Nei Wai You Bie* ‘Differentiate between ingroup and outgroup.’ This ingroup/outgroup distinction allows people to treat family members and friends in an intimate but less polite way. Following this hierarchy and the basic maxim of solidarity, people know how to address and treat others. So ‘to put each individual in his/her place according to his/her social position’ is to observe *Li* via *Renlun*, or in Confucius’s words, to *zheng ming* ‘ratify names’ (Gu, 1990, p. 238). *Ming* ‘name’ here means one’s social position and social relation with others. To Confucius, it is important to ratify names, because

If *ming* is not properly rectified, speech cannot be used appropriately; if speech is not used appropriately, nothing can be achieved; if nothing is achieved, *Li* cannot be restored; if *Li* is not restored, law and justice cannot be exercised; and if law and justice cannot be exercised, people will not know how to behave.

(Confucius, *Zilu*, quoted by Yang, translated and emphasized by Gu, 1990, pp. 238)

Hence, to maintain the proper social relationship in Confucian times was a must for the stability of society. In modern China, though the hierarchical relations have become obscure, the concern for social relationship has remained intact. It is this desire for the proper social relationship and solidarity and the principle of ‘Relevance’ in Confucian rhetoric (Lee-Wong, 1994) that lay the foundation for the communication

pattern of modern Chinese society. Confucian 'Relevance' can be interpreted as the principle of a fine balance of 'Sufficiency' and 'Necessity', i.e. 'say no more than you need to', in Blum-Kulka's words 'pragmatic clarity'. The principle of 'pragmatic clarity' or 'say no more than you need to' is observed via social relationship. However, the ingroup/outgroup distinction may sometimes be broken. If the speaker wants to show warm feelings or to be friendly to the hearer, he/she will shorten the social distance by treating the hearer as his/her family member or close friend. Being friendly, as Lee-Wong argues, can be interpreted as "being solidary which in the Chinese socio-cultural context says: (a) Do imposition within reasonable limits; (b) Use linguistic forms which express the belief that the hearer will co-operate with the speaker" (1994, p. 509). In this sense solidarity in Chinese society implies some tolerance of imposition and the sincere belief on the part of speaker that 'You (Hearer) would do X and would not mind doing X, since you are my friend or as if my family member.' The favor of Imperatives in Chinese has thus logically related to this deeply held cultural belief and value. So the function of politeness in Chinese society has gone beyond Brown and Levinson's instrumental to the normative function that constrains individual speech acts as well as the sequence of talk exchanges (Gu, 1990, p. 342).

Based upon this traditional cultural belief, there are two cardinal principles underneath the concept of politeness in Modern Chinese: sincerity and balance (Gu, 1990, p. 239). Genuine polite behavior must be enacted sincerely, and sincerely polite behavior by itself calls for similar behavior in return by the other. The Principle of Sincerity may take polite use of language far beyond sentential territory into conversation, since talk exchanges may be required to make sure that the Principle is duly observed. The Principle of Balance breaks down the boundary of here-and-now conversation, predetermining follow-up talk exchanges long after the present conversation is terminated. These two principles proposed by Gu well explain some of the above arguments. The Principle of Sincerity not only has verified Zhang's hypothesis that CID in Chinese is a discourse phenomenon and can be realized beyond the individual request utterance, but it has also answered our question that D via Chinese culture is the strategy preferred by native Chinese speakers in request making. The Principle of Balance accounts for the reason why Chinese speakers care more about establishing a long-term relationship through verbal communications. The realization of request head in a direct or indirect way is not very important in Chinese.

The above illustrations demonstrate that Chinese culture values sincerity and clarity over indirectness. The trend in Chinese conversational style is for 'perspicuity,' as long as social relationship is duly observed. The need for sincerity and clarity ensures Chinese speakers to use Imperatives without sounding imperious, because the need for politeness and noncoerciveness is met through IM and EM rather than the request utterance proper. The importance of social relationship in Chinese culture reminds us to be cautious with the selection of participants as well as situational contexts in sociolinguistic experiments. It is participants who provide the data according to their own experiences and understanding of the interrelationship of politeness and social relations, so the social and education backgrounds of participants should be taken into consideration. And since it is the situational contexts that activate the participants' stored knowledge and experience in selecting the appropriate strategy via the S-H relationship and request topics, the situation description should be adequate and specific enough to elicit the data. Furthermore, as politeness is realized through speech events, any questionnaires and situational contexts should not be too predetermined to limit participants freedom of using any way they regard as the most appropriate. And in the process of data analysis, small talk or supportive moves should not be neglected. In the following section, we will examine and compare the methodologies of Zhang and Lee-Wong to access the reliability of their findings.

5.0. EVALUATION OF ZHANG'S AND LEE-WONG'S RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

First we will look into the participants selected by Zhang (1995a) and Lee-Wong (1994). Both of their participants were Chinese speakers from the PRC, but they differed in their length of residency. In Zhang's study, participants were 30 Chinese students from the PRC studying in US universities, half of them female. They had been exposed to American culture for some time, while Lee-Wong's participants were native Chinese speakers in the PRC. Although we do not know the social status, occupation, age or gender of Lee-Wong's participants, at least one thing is obvious. Their chances of exposure to other cultures and languages are much less than Zhang's. At this point, we might argue that there may have been a potential influence from English on the preference for CID reflected in Zhang's participants' request making.

This influence, we might call it 'backward' pragmatic transfer, has been observed and attested in the studies of language contacts and of translation influence on the source language. It has been also verified in many languages, including Chinese. Take passive voice for example. Li and Thompson (1981) point out that "the increase in the nonadversity usage of the *bei*-passive construction in modern Chinese is clearly due to the influence of the Indo-European language, especially of English" (p. 496). The same observation has also been made by other scholars such as Chao (1968), Wang (1957), and Hashimoto (1987). If pragmatic transfer does exist in the interlanguage communication, this transference should be reciprocal. L2 behaviors and culture will unavoidably be transferred to L1. Since all Zhang's participants were students in American universities, just as Hong (1997b) has pointed out, "their exposure to English and Western culture may cause their linguistic behavior in requesting" (p. 196). Lii-Shih's (1994) study in request making in Taiwan has also partially verified our assumption of this backward pragmatic transfer. Her findings that Chinese speakers in Taiwan prefer CID request strategy coincides with Zhang's. As is well known, Taiwan has been strongly influenced by Japanese and American language and cultures, owing to their economic ties as well as other historical reasons. Their exposure to the foreign languages and cultures would have also brought about a certain degree of influence in the request behaviors. There might be some other factors that contribute to the preference of the CID strategy in Taiwan such as social values and language policy. As Cheng (1997) observes, based upon his extensive comparative studies of Mandarin, Taiwanese, English, and Japanese, that social change and language contact will result in language change, especially in grammatical features. This will partly account for the distinct findings of Zhang and Lee-Wong's studies. The favor of request strategies will certainly be affected by particular local culture, social values, and even by dialect. The conflicts and gaps between generations will also be reflected in request behaviors. Thereupon, when we study request strategies in Chinese, we should take into account all these factors. Since these factors are beyond the scope of the present paper, I will not get into details here.

This consequence resulting from the language and cultural contacts and other factors may account for why CID is shared by these two groups of Chinese speakers in Zhang's (1995a) and Lii-Shih's (1994) studies but not by Lee-Wong's (1994) group. The special favor of D shown by Lee-Wong's participants in the PRC seems to be in consonant with the conclusion of our above cultural review that Chinese culture has a tendency for 'perspicuity', sincerity, and conciseness. They prefer it, partly because they still value and hold the traditional cultural belief, and partly because they are the only speech community less influenced by other cultures, owing to the long-term close-door policy to the outside world. Considering this fact, we can say that Lee-Wong's participants are more qualified than Zhang's as the representatives of Chinese speakers in the PRC.

Secondly, Zhang (1995a) and Lee-Wong (1994) also differ in their situational contexts. A total of 30 situations designed by Lee-Wong (1994) in the form of a modified discourse completion test (DCT) were used for oral and written elicitation. An average of 14-16 situations was used for each interviewee and 30 were used for the questionnaire. Altogether 6,191 tokens of requests were generated from these two surveys: 1,176 tokens from interviewing and 5,015 tokens from the questionnaire survey. Zhang (1995a) used 12 contexts for her data collection by means of DCT. As she mentioned in the conclusion, her study is far from exhaustive. It is obvious that Lee-Wong's findings are more convincing than Zhang's in light of the quantity of data.

However, in Zhang's (1995b) study of Indirectness in Chinese Requesting, her data are more convincing, in terms of naturalness and authenticity, in the role-plays between two female Chinese speakers. Both of the participants in the two role-plays were graduate students at the University of Hawai'i. One used to be the instructor of the other, but at the time of the role-play, they were no longer in a teacher-student relationship. In both real life and role-play situations, the participants were good friends but not quite close. In Role-play # 1, one student asks the other to help with a coming examination; in Role-play # 2, one student asks the other to save a seat for her at a seminar. The advantage of this familiar situation and the similar relation between the participants and the roles they played is that the data elicited is much more authentic and natural. In addition, the audio-recorded role-playing without the presence of the researcher also helps to reduce possible interference from the outsider. The role-plays were followed by retrospective interviews held two months later. The two participants and nine native speakers of Chinese listened and commented upon the role-plays and answered a set of questions. Furthermore, ten native Chinese speakers also rated the naturalness of the role-plays. The interview and the rating scales together have hence enabled the reliability of the naturalness of the data elicited in the role-playing. The hypothesis based upon this kind of data is quite convincing.

As Zhang (1995b) has realized “that Indirect SA [speech act] theory and the cross-cultural study of SA realization have focused mainly on individual utterances” (p. 99), open role-plays provided her participants with the greatest amount of freedom to explore the most appropriate way to realize their request intentions. It is this rich potential of open role-plays that better elicits such pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic features as the functions of small talk and supportive moves in their full discourse context. If Zhang’s CID strategy should be realized at the discourse level with the mandatory use of external modifications, then we might also expect the use of EM in Lee-Wong’s (1994) Imperatives. However, such kinds of discourse analysis are missing in Lee-Wong’s study. We can hardly make a comparison here, but we can still gain some information from the introduction of her study: “Each token of request comprises minimally a single main request strategy (core request/head act) with or without supportive moves (i.e. internal modification and external modification) so that when the supportive moves were numerated and added to the head act the total number of utterances exceeds the total number of tokens of request” (1994, p. 491). Accordingly, we might argue that EM are also frequently used in D, if not mandatory, because the use of EM is not just the device to realize a request in an indirect way, but more importantly it meets the need for establishing a long-term social relationship in Chinese society. Thereupon, we might say that external modification in Chinese is actually an important strategy in request making in both CID and D if the situation requires.

The review of Zhang’s and Lee-Wong’s methodologies illustrates that there is no contradiction in their findings. The key is how the research is conducted and from which perspective their findings are viewed. If we consider the types and variety of participants of Lee-Wong’s study and the traditional cultural values behind these request behaviors, we might argue that D is the strategy preferred by Chinese speakers in the PRC, while CID reported in Zhang’s findings might represent the strategy type favored by other Chinese speech communities such as Chinese speakers in the US or in Taiwan. Their findings warn us against conceiving that all Chinese speakers share the same strategies in making a request. The study of request strategies should be done in more Chinese speech communities before we make a conclusion.

Different research methodologies may result in quite distinct findings in request strategies, as requests involve many factors such as social relationship and situation context. Therefore, the social and educational backgrounds of participants should be taken into consideration. On the other hand, the situation contexts that activate the participants’ stored knowledge and experiences in selecting the appropriate strategy via the speaker-hearer relationship and request topics and the situation description should be adequate and specific enough to elicit the data. The analysis of the data should be done at the discourse level in order to see to it that request strategies are realized with appropriate modifiers.

6.0. CONCLUSION

Some tentative observations can be made from the above discussions.

1. D or Imperatives are socially appropriate norms in request making. The politeness in Chinese is the fine balance of ‘Sufficiency’ and ‘Necessity.’ Say no more than what is needed. The use of D with IM enables Chinese speakers simultaneously to express cultural belief of upfront sincerity and to use imperatives without sounding imperious. On the other hand, the use of CID does not necessarily imply politeness or indirectness. The indirectness and politeness in Chinese are achieved mainly through EM and IM respectively.
2. Though the strategy CID is not as a normative request pattern in the PRC, it might be the type preferred, as reported in Zhang’s and Lii-Shih’s studies, by Chinese speakers outside the PRC. But again this does not suggest that all the other Chinese speech communities like Hong Kong and Singapore will also share this CID strategy. Request strategies in different Chinese speech communities might differ one from another. If there exists a difference in these communities, what factors contribute to the difference? Besides the degree of preserving the traditional Chinese cultural values, to what degree do other factors (e.g. the contemporary social values, language/cultural contact, language policy, and speaker/writer’s educational background) influence the request strategy choice? These questions will be an interesting topic for further study.

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THE CONCEPTS OF *YUISHIKI*, REINCARNATION, AND THE SIGNS OF DECREPITUDE OF ANGELS IN MISHIMA YUKIO'S *TEN'NIN GOSUI*

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1.0. INTRODUCTION

The notion of *yuishiki* (Sk. *viññapti-mātratā*), or the consciousness-only doctrine of the Yogācāra school¹ and the Hossō sect² of Buddhism in Japan, is the central theme of Mishima Yukio's *Hōjō no umi*³ (*The Sea of Fertility*), a tetralogy which became his final work. Mishima stated that, for a long time, he wished to write a novel which presented his epistemological understanding of the world, and this wish eventually led to his production of *Hōjō no umi*.⁴ He first wanted to write a long novel based on the Buddhist concept of *rin'ne* (Sk. *samsāra*), or the cycle of births and deaths and the transmigration of the "soul." As he examined various Buddhist teachings and texts, he realized that the idea of *yuishiki*, instead of *rin'ne*, was what he sought as the primary theme of his story (Mishima, "*Hojo no umi ni tsuite*," 27). However, he did not abandon the notion of *rin'ne* as an important part of his narrative. Despite Mishima's explanation that *yuishiki* is *Hōjō no umi*'s central theme, many Japanese scholars, such as Mitsuhashi Takao, Matsumoto Tōru, and Terada Tōru, interpret *Hōjō no umi* as the "stories of the cycle of births and deaths."⁵ In other words, these scholars assert that *yuishiki* is only secondary to *rin'ne* as the essential theme in the novels. In more recent years, other scholars, such as Mori Takamasa, Takahashi Shigeyoshi, and Roy Starrs,⁶ focus on the significance of *yuishiki* in *Hōjō no umi* and downplay the role which *rin'ne* plays in the tetralogy. For example, Takahashi argues that the idea of the transmigration of the "soul" is "merely a kind of literary technique" which Mishima employs in his narrative (Takahashi 226). I disagree with the first group of scholars because I think that *yuishiki*, rather than *rin'ne*, is the primary theme underlying *Hōjō no umi*, just as Mishima himself affirmed. However, I contend that Takahashi and other scholars' interpretation of the novels is also inaccurate; instead, I will argue that the concept of *rin'ne* and the eventual negation of this theme in *Ten'nin gosui* (*The Decay of the Angel*), the last of the four novels, is the key to deciphering and realizing the concept of *yuishiki* in *Hōjō no umi*.⁷

To argue this, I will first explain the Buddhist doctrines of *rin'ne* and *yuishiki*. Next, I will examine the structure of *Hōjō no umi* in order to show that the idea of *rin'ne* is the main theme of the first half of the tetralogy but is secondary in its importance to the concept of *yuishiki*, which is revealed in the second half of the tetralogy to be the fundamental theme. In the next section, I will analyze the relationship between Yasunaga Tōru and Honda Shigekuni, the two major characters in *Ten'nin gosui*, in order to show that their relationship is based on the concept of *yuishiki* rather than *rin'ne*. I will provide an interpretation of their relationship in which Honda symbolizes *arayashiki* (*ālaya*-consciousness⁸) and Tōru represents *manashiki* (*manas*-consciousness⁹), which are two of the eight *shiki*, or consciousnesses in the doctrine of *yuishiki* established by the Hossō sect. Then, I will discuss various signs of decrepitude of "*ten'nin*," or "heavenly beings," which manifest in Tōru and how this decay of Tōru leads to the conclusion (or Honda's realization) that *rin'ne* is an illusion. In other words, everything arises from one's mind (or reality is a product of one's mind), but even one's consciousness is ultimately reduced to "nothing" and "empty" (the fundamental concept in the *yuishiki* doctrine).

2.0. THE BUDDHIST DOCTRINES OF *YUISHIKI* AND *RIN'NE*

In *Hōjō no umi*, Mishima treats *yuishiki* and *rin'ne* as if they are closely related Buddhist doctrines. However, a careful examination of these ideas reveals that they are two unrelated concepts. *Rin'ne* can be explained as one's "soul" or "essence" passing, cycling, or transmigrating through successive lives as a consequence of moral and physical acts. In Buddhism, one will continue to have rebirths in *sangai*, or the three realms of the world of transmigration, and in *rokudō* (Sk. *sad-gatī*), or the six lower states of existence, until one is released from the cycle. The six lower paths refer to hell (*jigoku*), the realms of hungry spirits (*gaki*), animals (*chikushō*), *asuras* or fighting spirits (*ashura*), human or sentient beings (*ningen*), and heavenly beings (*ten* or *tenjō*). The three realms of the world of transmigration include: the realm of desire, or *yokkai* (Sk. *kāma-dhātu*), "which comprises hell, the states of existence of hungry spirits, animals, fighting spirits, and human or sentient beings, and part of heaven" ("Sangai" 264); the realm of form, or *shikikai* (Sk. *rūpa-dhātu*), "which comprises part of heaven, where beings have neither sexual desire nor other appetites and there are only fine types of matter;" (264) and the realm of non-form, or *mushikikai* (Sk. *ārūpya-dhātu*), "which comprises part of heaven,

where no material element exists and beings enjoy only meditative states" (264). As long as one dwells in these realms, no one, not even a heavenly being, can escape from *rin'ne*. In order for a person to attain enlightenment, he has to elevate himself spiritually and go beyond the six lower paths and the three realms of the world of transmigration. There are four additional realms above the six lower paths;¹⁰ these are the realms of *shravakas* or voice-hearers (*shōmon*), *pratyeka-buddhas* or self-enlightened ones (*engaku*), bodhisattvas or compassionate ones (*bosatsu*), and buddhas or enlightened ones (*butsu*).¹¹ One can only attain these higher stages through undertaking various Buddhist practices, such as observing the precepts and helping others to achieve enlightenment. Attaining the state of buddhas, the highest and the final realm, equals enlightenment in Buddhism, especially in the Mahayana Buddhist tradition.¹²

In contrast to the themes of transmigration to attain a higher purpose, *Yuishiki* is the consciousness-only doctrine that was developed in the Yogācāra school in India. The concept has been transmitted and further studied by the Hossō school of Buddhism in China, Korea, and Japan. According to *yuishiki*, all phenomena are manifestations of one's mind, or consciousness, which is called *arayashiki* (Sk. *ālaya-vijñāna*), or *ālaya-consciousness* ("Arayashiki," *Bukkyōgo Daijiten*, 10). The *arayashiki* is the last of the eight consciousnesses, or *hasshiki*, established in the Hossō school (11). Both Theravada¹³ and Mahayana Buddhist traditions, before the emergence of the Hossō school, had the concept of *rokushiki* (Sk. *sad-vijñāna*), or the six consciousnesses which correspond to *rokkon* (Sk. *sad-indriya*) ("Rokkon" 851), or the six sense-organs (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, the tactile body, and mind or intention), and their *rokkyō* (Sk. *sad-visaya*) ("Rokkyō" 851-2), or the six objects of perception or cognition (color and shape, sound, odor, taste, tangible objects, and objects of the mind). Thus, the six consciousnesses are visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and non-sensuous or thought ("Rokushiki" 846). The Hossō school added two more consciousnesses and established the concept of the eight consciousnesses. The seventh is called *manashiki* (Sk. *manas-vijñāna*), or *manas-consciousness*, "the function of which is to perceive the subjective portion of the eighth consciousness (*arayashiki*) and erroneously regard it as one's ego, thereby creating ego-attachment" ("Manashiki" 94). The eighth consciousness is *arayashiki* which is described in the following:

[*Arayashiki* is] the most fundamental of the eight levels of consciousness...[which] stores all potential energy for the mental and physical manifestations of one's existence, and supplies the substance to all existences. It also receives impression from all functions of other consciousnesses and retains them as potential energy for their further manifestations and activities.¹⁴ ("Arayashiki," Inagaki and O'Neill, 9)

In other words, *arayashiki* contains innumerable "seeds" which give rise to various existences and acts. The matters and phenomena, which are produced from the "seeds," in turn leave their impressions in *arayashiki*. This process is repeated every *setsuna* (Sk. *ksana*), or moment. For example, when a person sees a rose, he sees it through his visual consciousness, which is produced from, or has its root in, his mind. The "vision" of the rose which he "perceives" gives his mind a certain impression, and this impression affects and causes his mind to give rise to another vision (or other senses such as a sound, taste, or texture). This process occurs and repeats every moment. *Yuishiki* differs from the concept of *yuishin*,¹⁵ "mind-only," because, according to *yuishiki*, even the *arayashiki* is ultimately void or empty, and everything which arises from this fundamental consciousness is an illusion. Thus, according to *yuishiki*, the doctrine of *rin'ne* and the Buddhist teachings based on it (e.g., one must escape from the cycle of the births and deaths in order to attain the enlightenment) lose their significance and validity because everything can be reduced to *arayashiki*, one's mind/consciousness (which is paradoxically the source of everything), and even the *arayashiki* itself is ultimately an illusion and "void." Therefore, the doctrine of *rin'ne* is not a real process but an illusion because it assumes the existence of the realms in which the transmigration of the "soul" occurs. Despite these contradictions between *rin'ne* and *yuishiki*, Mishima skillfully intertwines these two ideas in *Hōjō no umi* and concludes in *Ten'nin gosui* that the concept of *yuishiki* overrules *rin'ne*. In order to clarify this point, I will next investigate the structure of *Hōjō no umi*.

3.0. THE STRUCTURE OF *Hōjō no umi*

As I previously stated, various scholars, such as Mitsuhashi and Terada, have discussed that the important theme which connects Tōru to Honda in *Ten'nin gosui* is the idea of *rin'ne* rather than the concept of *yuishiki*. I object to this interpretation, but before I begin to discuss my interpretation of the story, I will briefly explain the *rin'ne*, or the cycle of births and deaths, as they are represented in *Hōjō no umi*. Then, I will

describe the format of *Hōjō no umi* in order to indicate that although *rin'ne* is the main theme of the first half of the tetralogy, it loses its significance as the concept of *yuishiki* is gradually revealed as the main theme in the second half.

In each of the four stories in *Hōjō no umi*, Honda encounters and forms a special relationship with an individual. The first of these people is Matsugae Kiyooki, Honda's friend who is the main character in *Haru no yuki* (*Spring Snow*), the first novel in the tetralogy. Other individuals whom Honda meets in the following three novels are implied to be Kiyooki's reincarnations. In *Haru no yuki*, Kiyooki, shortly before his death, awakes from a dream and tells Honda that he will surely meet Honda again "below a waterfall" (Mishima, *Haru*, 394). The meaning of Kiyooki's words is not explained in *Haru no yuki* but becomes clear in *Honba* (*Runaway Horses*), the second novel in *Hōjō no umi*. Honda, now thirty-eight years old, meets nineteen-year-old Inuma Isao below a waterfall at the foot of Mount Miwa (Mishima, *Honba*, 435-6). In addition, the year in which Isao was born is the same year Kiyooki died (421), and Isao has a group of three moles at the side of his left breast just like Kiyooki (435-6). Thus, Honda becomes convinced that Isao is Kiyooki's reincarnated "soul." Isao commits suicide at the age of twenty; thus, he dies at the same age as Kiyooki (816). Honda, for some reason, recollects a place Isao described when he was once very drunk, "a worm-filled southern country illuminated with rosy lights" (804).¹⁶ These words lead Honda to Thailand in *Akatsuki no tera* (*Temple of Dawn*), the third novel. There, Honda, now forty-seven, encounters seven-year-old Ying Chan (Jin Jan in the Japanese pronunciation) in Bangkok. She claims that she lived as a Japanese in her previous life (Mishima, *Akatsuki*, 27 and 50) and knows the month Kiyooki and Honda learned that Ayakura Satoko, Kiyooki's love interest, cloistered herself in the Gesshūji Temple (Mishima, *Haru*, 295 and 329-31). Moreover, she knows the exact date Isao was arrested (50-1). Because of this, Honda believes that she must be the reincarnation of Isao as well as Kiyooki. Later in the story, Honda learns that Ying Chan was bitten by a cobra and died at the age of twenty just as her two predecessors (359). However, she does not leave Honda any hints where her next rebirth will take place. Thus, in *Ten'nin gosui*, Honda, now seventy-six, does not know where to look for Ying Chan's reincarnation but accidentally meets sixteen-year-old Tōru at a signal station in Shizuoka, Japan. Tōru also has a group of three moles just as Kiyooki, Isao, and Ying Chan, but it is not very clear to Honda (as well as to the audience) whether Tōru is the "real" reincarnation of the three.

Because of this ambiguity in Tōru's identity, various scholars focus on the issue of Tōru's "authenticity" and discuss their ideas. Terada claims that Tōru is probably a *nisemono*, an imitation or "inauthentic" reincarnation of his three predecessors, but he does not elaborate his reasons except to say that Tōru does not die at the age of twenty like the other three (Terada 158, 163). Mitsuana also states that, since Tōru's attempted suicide at the age of twenty fails and he becomes blind, "there is no doubt that Tōru is *nisemono*" (Mitsuana 210).

However, the crucial idea in *Ten'nin gosui* is not the issue of Tōru's "authenticity" as the true reincarnation of his three predecessors but that the cycle of births and deaths (*rin'ne*), which is the link connecting the four individuals (Kiyooki, Isao, Ying Chan, and Tōru), weakens when Tōru is incorporated into the story. In fact, this "weakening" of the link begins in *Akatsuki no tera*¹⁷ and continues on through the *Ten'nin gosui*. Starrs indicates that there is a marked shift in the structure of *Hōjō no umi* when it comes to the third novel, *Akatsuki no tera*, which presents "explicit philosophical discussions" of *yuishiki*, which Starrs calls "nihilism" (67-8). Hence, I can divide *Hōjō no umi*'s four novels into two groups. The novels in the first group, *Haru no yuki* and *Honba*, have the concept of *rin'ne* as their main theme and portray Honda as playing the role of an observer of Kiyooki and Isao, who are reincarnated. The novels in the second group, *Akatsuki no tera* and *Ten'nin gosui*, are characterized by the weakening notion of *rin'ne*, which is gradually replaced by the concept of *yuishiki*. In addition, these later novels depict Honda as an "experiencer" or "actor" instead of an observer.

The two groups can be related to sections of *The Lotus Sutra* (Sk. *Saddharma-pundarika sūtra*),¹⁸ an essential Mahayana Buddhist text. I interpret that the first half of *Hōjō no umi* is equivalent to the section of *shakumon* (skillful means or methods) and the second half correlates to *honmon* (a section revealing the true essence/meaning of the teachings).¹⁹ In *The Lotus Sutra*, the first half (chapters 1 to 14) is called *shaku* (Sk. *upāya*) or *shakumon*, which presents the "expedient means" or skillful methods in the forms of similes and metaphors. These "devices" are used to explain the true teachings explained in *honmon*, the later half of the text (chapters 15 to 28). Moreover, the teachings discussed in the first half of the sutra are only to be used

temporarily until the true teachings are revealed in the second half. I suggest that Mishima borrowed this structure and applied it to the format of *Hōjō no umi*. Thus, the notion of *rin'ne*, which is the major theme of the first section in the tetralogy, is the “expedient means” to explain the concept of *yuishiki*, the “true” and fundamental theme of *Hōjō no umi* revealed in its second half. Since the idea of *rin'ne* is an *upāya* and, thus, only provisional, it is no longer needed and loses its significance when the concept of *yuishiki* is introduced as the major theme of the tetralogy. Mishima begins to address that *rin'ne* is being replaced by *yuishiki* in *Akatsuki no tera*, but the detailed examination of this third novel in *Hōjō no umi* is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, I will focus on the relationship between Honda and Tōru as described in *Ten'nin gosui* to show that their relationship is based on the concept of *yuishiki* rather than *rin'ne*.

4.0. THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TŌRU AND HONDA BASED ON THE YUISHIKI DOCTRINE

In *Ten'nin gosui*, the notion of *rin'ne* loses its significance, and this is shown in various ways. First, Honda is uncertain whether Tōru is the real reincarnation of Ying Chan, Isao, and Kiyoaki since Honda did not receive any signs or clues from Ying Chan in regard to the place of her rebirth.²⁰ Honda also does not know whether Tōru was born before or after Ying Chan died because Ying Chan's twin sister “cannot remember the exact date of Ying Chan's death except that she died in Spring” (Mishima, *Ten'nin*, 480, 608). Tōru's birthday is listed as March 20th of the year when Ying Chan died, but this information is inaccurate because his father was traveling when he was born and his father did not report his birth immediately (608-9). Furthermore, Honda, who hurries to make an arrangement to adopt Tōru without verifying his exact birthday, no longer seems to be concerned with whether Tōru is the real reincarnation of his three predecessors (487-9). Hence, it is evident that the “authenticity” of Tōru's *rin'ne* is not the primary force which results in the relationship between Honda and Tōru.

In addition to Honda's disinterest in investigating Tōru's connections with Ying Chan, Tōru himself seems to be unaware whether he is the reincarnated “soul” of Ying Chan, Isao, and Kiyoaki and possesses only vague memories of his previous existences. Tōru has various mysterious visions and witnesses bizarre scenes which appear to be flashbacks of his previous experiences. For example, Muramatsu Takeshi interprets that the following scene is Tōru's memory of being Kiyoaki in his previous life (Muramatsu 223-4). On one snowy Saturday, Tōru sees an old man outside Honda's house and notices that he drops something beside the gate:

It was a dead bird, a crow, apparently. Or perhaps a turkey. I even thought I could hear the sound of the wings as it struck the snow; but the old man walked on... What sort of bird was it? As I looked at it, for almost too long a time, it came to seem not a bird but a woman's hair.²¹ (Mishima, *Decay*, 160)

Muramatsu suggests that the bird which appears to be a woman's hair represents Satoko's hair which is cut off in order for her to become a nun in *Haru no yuki* (Muramatsu 224).²² Although this may be Tōru's memory of once being Kiyoaki, it is too ambiguous to determine because Tōru himself does not remember Satoko nor is he aware that the hair symbolizes her. Tōru also has an enigmatic vision when he is observing an ocean with his telescope. Tōru “suddenly felt that a different world was being dragged forth from those gaping jaws [of the sea]” and thought that, “[i]f there was such a thing as a previous life, then perhaps this was it” (Mishima, *Decay*, 87-8).²³ The image which he sees is not described, but I speculate that the vision may refer to Tōru's memory of once being Isao, who commits suicide facing the sea. However, because Tōru's flashbacks are so cryptic, they cannot be considered strong evidence connecting Tōru to his previous lives and proving the validity of his *rin'ne*.

Why did Mishima make the connection between Tōru and his three predecessors ambiguous and downplay the notion of *rin'ne* in *Ten'nin gosui*? One possible explanation is to reveal that the doctrine of *yuishiki* is the fundamental concept which underlies the relationship between Tōru and Honda (and ultimately in the entire *Hōjō no umi*). In *Ten'nin gosui*, Honda calls Tōru his “*jiishiki no hinagata*,” or “mature self-awareness [or self-consciousness] in juvenile form,”²⁴ and describes his first meeting with Tōru in the following:

Their eyes met. Honda knew that the cogs of the same machine were moving both of them, in the same delicate motions at precisely the same speed. Honda's duplicate down to the finest detail, even down to

an utter want of purpose, was there as if bared to a cloudless void. Identical to his own in hardness and transparency despite the difference in their years, the delicate mechanism within this boy corresponded precisely to a mechanism within Honda, in terror lest someone destroy it, the terror hidden in its deepest recesses.²⁵ (Mishima, *Decay*, 63)

The passage above, which shows the similarities between Honda and Tōru, indicates that Honda strongly identifies with Tōru and that Tōru becomes important to Honda because of their similar natures rather than Tōru symbolizing the reincarnation of Kiyooki, Isao, and Ying Chan. Moreover, in this passage, the metaphor of a machine is used to describe Honda and Tōru. I interpret that the machine that “moves” them symbolizes *arayashiki*, which is the source of everything in the universe. However, according to the doctrine of *yuishiki*, the reality is the product of one’s consciousness. Thus, *arayashiki* refers to Honda’s mind, which perceives the machine as the metaphor for the force that drives both himself and Tōru. Furthermore, Honda’s self-awareness of being “Honda” arises from his consciousness; thus, in the story, the character of Honda can be reduced to his consciousness representing *arayashiki*. Honda sees Tōru as his “self-consciousness,” but Tōru is manifested in a physical form in front of Honda rather than existing in his mind. This means that Honda manifests his consciousness, or *arayashiki*, outside of himself and perceives this reflection of himself as Tōru. Thus, for Honda, Tōru symbolizes a part of his *arayashiki*. Because Honda senses that Tōru is an element of himself being separated from him, Honda develops a strong attachment to Tōru. I interpret that Honda’s attachment to Tōru is analogous to Honda’s *manashiki* because *manashiki* is “the function of which is to perceive the subjective portion of the eighth consciousness (*arayashiki*) and erroneously regard it as one’s ego [or self-awareness or consciousness], thereby creating ego-attachment” (“*Hasshiki*” 94). According to the doctrine of *yuishiki*, one cannot attain enlightenment until one dissolves this ego-attachment. However, Honda, who is unaware that his attachment to Tōru is *manashiki*, continues to have a strong affinity for/attachment to Tōru.

Honda’s attachment to Tōru is illustrated in various scenes in *Ten’nin gosui*. One of the important characteristics of Honda’s attachment to Tōru is that Honda derives a sense of power and control from playing the role of Tōru’s “father.” This sense of power contributes to Honda’s ego. A good example of this is the scene in which Honda gives Tōru a lesson in foreign table manners and how to appropriately respond to his table companions (Mishima, *Ten’nin*, 489-92).²⁶ While teaching Tōru how to converse with “fools” (the upper class people) in the society, Honda thinks that he can perhaps transform Tōru and enable him to have a life which is not originally destined for him.²⁷ Thus, the process of educating Tōru gives Honda self-satisfaction that he manipulates the role of Tōru’s “fate.” In turn, this sense of power, which Honda feels over Tōru, makes Honda infatuated with Tōru even more.

Honda’s attachment to Tōru is also depicted through Honda’s roles as both “observer” and “experiencer” of Tōru’s life. Honda takes delight in being an “observer” who will eventually witness whether Tōru will fulfill the destiny of his predecessors. At the same time, he also enjoys being an “experiencer” who will undergo the process of fulfilling the destiny with Tōru. In either case, Honda hopes to verify the validity of *rin’ne*, the cycle of births and deaths. After Honda adopts Tōru as his son, Honda hands Tōru a photo of Hamanaka Momoko, a young woman whom Honda selected for his son’s possible future wife. Tōru, who carefully examines the photo, shows his “boyish curiosity” and “flushes to the ears” (Mishima, *Ten’nin*, 515).²⁸ When Honda sees this, he “forgets that Tōru has responded as he had wanted him to respond” and feels that his “self-awareness [or self-consciousness] has itself for an instant plays a boyish role” (515).²⁹ Honda’s reaction is possible because his deep attachment to Tōru makes him identify with his son. In another scene, Honda ceases to be Tōru’s “observer” and transforms into the “experiencer” of his son’s life. When Honda and Momoko’s parents view Tōru and Momoko taking a walk outside, Honda experiences that he is “half enacting in his heart the movement his awareness [or consciousness] has ordered, directing them [Tōru and Momoko] with the strength of all his faculties” (524-5).³⁰ In this scene, Honda’s consciousness merges with Tōru’s (as well as with Momoko’s), and no distinction exists between them. Honda is capable of being Tōru’s “observer” and “experiencer” because Honda shares his consciousness with Tōru. In order for Honda to realize the truth that everything arises from one’s mind, Honda has to discover that Tōru is merely a reflection of himself (the subjective portion of *arayashiki*) and abandon his attachment (*manashiki*) to Tōru. Mishima illustrates the process in which Honda realizes the truth by skillfully using the imagery of various marks of decrepitude of “*ten’nin*,” or “heavenly beings,” throughout the *Ten’nin gosui*. These signs, which indicate the decline/decay of Tōru, lead to Honda’s understanding that even *rin’ne* is an illusion and makes him seek the answer in *yuishiki*.

5.0. THE SIGNS OF DECREPITUDE OF *TEN'NIN* AND THE CONCEPT OF *YUISHIKI*

There are two different ways in which Mishima conveys the idea that *yuishiki* overrules *rin'ne* in *Ten'nin gosui*. At one level, Mishima directly communicates the message in his narrative, especially in the later part of *Ten'nin gosui*. After Tōru turns twenty, he becomes violent toward Honda and abuses him physically, emotionally, and psychologically (Mishima, *Ten'nin*, 570-2 and 578-81).³¹ This is expected since one's attachment (*manashiki*) would result in one's suffering (disillusionment). Honda endures Tōru's cruelty because he wishes to witness whether Tōru will die before he will turn twenty-one as Kiyoaki, Isao, and Ying Chan did. A few months before Tōru's twenty-first birthday, Tōru is invited by Keiko, Honda's long-time friend, to her Christmas party. There, Keiko tells Tōru the reason Honda adopted Tōru and explains to him about Kiyoaki, Isao, and Ying Chan (600-13).³² Keiko also tells him about Kiyoaki's diary, which Honda still possesses, and suggests he read it if he doubts her stories. Furthermore, Keiko humiliates Tōru by stating that Tōru cannot be the real reincarnation of the three because she finds "nothing inevitable about [him], not a thing a person would hate to lose" (610).³³ Tōru becomes devastated and demands that Honda show him Kiyoaki's diary after he returns home. After Tōru reads the diary, he learns that everything Keiko told him was true. In order to authenticate his existence as the true reincarnated "soul" of Kiyoaki, Isao, and Ying Chan, or because Tōru believes his identity as the chosen one has been refuted, a few days later, Tōru attempts to commit suicide by taking poison. However, ironically, Tōru fails to die; instead, he becomes blind and continues to live after his twenty-first birthday (613-6).³⁴ Honda observes Tōru, who has now turned into a pathetic young man, and thinks that "[t]hree reincarnations have occupied [his] life and, after drawing their paths of light across it [that too had been a most improbable accident], gone off in another burst of light to an unknown corner of the heavens" (618).³⁵ I think this is the moment when the notion of *rin'ne*, which captivated Honda for a long time, loses its significance, and he realizes that *rin'ne* is an illusion. Honda no longer knows what underlies the existence of a human being. He also wonders what direction his life will go in next. In order to find the answer, he visits Gesshūji where Satoko still lives as the old Abbess.

Honda's path to Gesshūji is exquisitely described by Mishima over many pages. Mitsuhana explains that the scenes reflect the contemplative state of Mishima's mind before he ended his own life (Mitsuhana 210-1). I interpret that the long and quiet scenes through which Honda travels to reach Gesshūji have the purpose of preparing the readers for the ultimate end, which reveals the theme of *Hōjō no umi* as *yuishiki* or emptiness. When Honda finally meets Satoko, he asks about Kiyoaki. However, Satoko tells him that she does not recall a man named Kiyoaki and that memory is unreliable like a "phantom mirror." Honda is astonished and begins to wonder, if there was no Kiyoaki, did Isao, Ying Chan, or even himself really exist? To answer this question, the old Abbess states, "That too is as it is in each heart" (Mishima, *Ten'nin*, 646).³⁶ After the conversation, Honda is taken to the south garden of the Gesshūji. The garden is empty, and there is no sound. This is the place where Honda reaches in the end. The last words of Satoko convey the idea that everything arises from one's mind, and the garden where Honda arrives at last symbolizes the notion that even one's mind is ultimately "void" and "empty." This is the fundamental concept of *yuishiki* which Mishima presents in the conclusion of *Ten'nin gosui* as well as *Hōjō no umi*. The way in which Mishima communicates the theme in his narrative seems very straightforward. However, Mishima also conveys the same theme at another level by cleverly using the imagery of various signs of decay of angels throughout *Ten'nin gosui*.

Ten'nin gosui refers to the five signs of decrepitude of angels, or heavenly beings, described in various Buddhist texts. Mishima lists different variations of these signs in chapter eight of *Ten'nin gosui*. According to *Ekottara-āgama*, the five signs of an angel's death include that "their flowered crowns wither, their robes are soiled, the hollows under their arms are fetid, they lose their awareness of themselves, [and] they are abandoned by the jeweled maidens [or a queen violates/revolts]" (Mishima, *Decay*, 51).³⁷ *The Life of the Buddhas* states that the marks of death are: "The flowers in the hair fade, a fetid sweat comes from under the arms, the robes are soiled, the body ceases to give off light, [and] it loses awareness of itself" (52).³⁸ According to *Mahāmāyā sūtra*, the five signs of decay are that, Maya's (heavenly being) "crown of flowers wilted, a sweat poured from under her arms, her halo faded, her eyes came to blink without pause, and she lost all satisfaction with her rightful place" (52).³⁹ *Abhidharma mahāvibhāsā sāstra* lists the five greater and the five lesser signs of decrepitude of angels. The five greater marks seem to resemble the ones already discussed above. The five smaller signs include: The music which an angel plays fade and the voice becomes "tense and thin;" the light

which an angel emanates “dwindles sharply and the body is wrapped in thin shadows;” the water on an angel’s skin “clings and will not leave;” an angel “lingers in one spot and cannot break free;” and an angel’s “blinking becomes incessant” (52).⁴⁰ According to the *sāstra*, “so long as only the lesser ones are present, death can still be put off, but once the greater signs appear the issue is not in doubt” (53).⁴¹ In various scenes in *Ten’nin gosui*, these marks appear on Tōru, which indicates that Tōru represents a *ten’nin*, or heavenly being. The meaning of the symbolism of *ten’nin* which Tōru manifests necessitates further research and will be addressed in another project. However, I will describe a few selected scenes in which Tōru shows these marks of decay and discuss how these scenes support the theme that everything is based on *yuishiki*.

In the scene in which Tōru first reveals one of the signs of “decay,” he is taking a bath. “When he is tired and short of sleep, a cold sweat comes out on his face and at his armpits” (33).⁴² Hence, he especially scrubs his armpits using soap. “A fetid sweat coming from under the arms” is one of the five signs of angels’ decrepitude described in all the Buddhist texts discussed above. Because Tōru is by himself in the scene, only readers learn about this physical characteristic of Tōru’s. The irony of this is that the readers discover that Tōru is already manifesting one of the signs of “death” before Honda encounters Tōru. In fact, Honda never finds out about this mark of “decay” which Tōru secretly possesses. Hence, one way in which Mishima uses the signs of *ten’nin gosui* is to directly communicate the information about Tōru with the audience; the information is not necessarily disclosed to Honda or other characters in the story.

Another sign of Tōru’s “decay” is described in the scene in which Tōru meets Honda for the first time. When Honda and Keiko visit the signal station where Tōru works, Honda sees that a “worm-eaten and badly wilted” blue hydrangea is hanging over Tōru’s forehead (62).⁴³ “As [Tōru] looks down, the flower falls and rolls to Honda’s feet” (62). This is obviously one of the five marks of an angel’s “decline,” which is “an angel’s flowered crown withers and falls” or the “flower in the hair fades.” The significance of this scene is that, although Tōru manifests the mark of his “death” from the very beginning of his encounter with Honda, Honda apparently fails to notice the sign, despite the fact that Honda has been discussing *ten’nin gosui* with Keiko. Another interpretation of the scene is that Honda refuses to admit that the flower symbolizes one of the signs of *ten’nin gosui*, because he notices that Tōru has a group of three moles at the side of his left breast just as Kiyoaki, Isao, and Ying Chan. Thus, Honda ignores the sign of “death” and decides to adopt Tōru as his son. This scene again seems ironic because, from the readers’ perspective, Honda begins to develop an attachment toward Tōru who is showing the signs of “death” (this is the second sign of “decay” which the readers witness). This scene appears in the earlier part of the story, but Mishima already seems to suggest that it is inevitable for Honda to suffer because he forms an attachment toward someone who is “decaying.”

Various signs of Tōru’s “decay” become evident after his attempted suicide. Tōru, now blind, just sits in silence. His kimono is wrinkled, and patches of dirt are scattered on it. He also puts out a strange odor that is rather offensive, and there is no smell of flowers around him (218-9).⁴⁴ These are some of the exact signs of *ten’nin gosui* described in the Buddhist sutras. Why does Mishima suddenly describe Tōru manifesting all of these signs of “decay” at once? This is the scene in which Honda is about to leave his home in order to visit Satoko at Gesshūji. The notion of *rin’ne* already has lost its significance for Honda (since Tōru did not die at the age of twenty and became blind), but he still has to abandon his attachment (*manashiki*) toward his son. In this scene, Mishima suggests that Honda finally succeeds in eliminating the attachment. Tōru, who becomes an invalid and simultaneously manifests various signs of *ten’nin gosui*, symbolizes the “death” or “dying” of a portion of Honda’s self-consciousness (*arayashiki*) which has been separated from him and became the source of his attachment or *manaishiki*. Hence, “Honda leaving Tōru” represents that Honda succeeds in abandoning his attachment and eliminating *manashiki*. Moreover, “Honda going to see Satoko” symbolizes that Honda goes beyond Tōru and tries to seek the truth in Satoko, who gives *yuishiki* as the answer.

6.0. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I discussed *Ten’nin gosui* and the structure of *Hōjō no umi* from the Buddhist perspective. My main argument was that the concept of *yuishiki*, rather than *rin’ne*, was the central theme of *Ten’nin gosui* as well as *Hōjō no umi*. However, for one to understand this, one has to realize the unique structure of *Hōjō no umi*. Hence, I used *The Lotus Sutra* as an example and explained that the tetralogy could be divided into two sections. The subject of the first section, including *Haru no yuki* and *Honba*, seemed to be

the idea of *rin'ne*, and the essential theme of the second group, containing *Akatsuki no tera* and *Ten'nin gosui*, appeared to be the concept of *yuishiki*. However, I explained that *rin'ne* might be only a "provisional" idea until the concept of *yuishiki*, the true theme of the tetralogy, was revealed in the later texts. Next, I investigated the nature of relationship between Honda and Tōru based on the concept of *yuishiki*. I interpreted that Honda symbolized *arayashiki* and Tōru represented *manashiki*. Thus, in order for Honda to realize the truth, he had to abandon his attachment to Tōru, or eliminate his *manashiki*. In the last section, I discussed various signs of decrepitude of angels described in four different Buddhist texts. I also explained how Mishima used the imagery to convey the important theme of *Ten'nin gosui* as well as *Hōjō no umi*, which was that once a person succeeds in eliminating his/her attachment or *manashiki*, he/she will be able to face and accept the truth that everything arises from one's consciousness, but even one's consciousness is ultimately reduced to "nothing."

One of the important subjects that needs to be further explored is the interpretation of the signs of *ten'nin gosui*. In this paper, I only examined three different scenes in which some of these signs were described in *Ten'nin gosui*. Moreover, I limited myself to the interpretation of these signs based on the concept of *yuishiki*. However, I believe that there are numerous ways in which these signs can be interpreted.

NOTES

1. The Yogācāra school, or the *Yugagyōha* in Japanese, is one of the two major Mahayana schools in India, the other being the Mādhyamika school, or the *Chūganha* in Japanese. The Yogācāra school was supposedly founded by Miroku (Maitreya) and developed by Mujaku (Asanga) in the 4th century C. E. and Seshin (Vasubandhu) in the c. 4th to 5th century. This school emphasizes meditation on conceivable objects which represent the reality-principle. For further information, see "Yuga," *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten*, Vol. 5, 4919-20.
2. The Hossō sect, or the *dharma*-characteristics sect, is a "Mahayana sect founded in China during the T'ang dynasty and is based on the scriptures asserting that all existences are reducible to the consciousnesses." This teaching was later denounced in China but transmitted to Korea and Japan. In Japan, the Hossō school is one of the six sects of the Nara period (710-794). See "Hossō-shū," Hisao Inagaki and P. G. O'Neill, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms: Based on References in Japanese Literature* (Union City: Heian, 1988), 114. For further information, see "Hossō-shū," *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten*, Vol. 5, 4625-7.
3. Mishima's tetralogy, *Hōjō no umi* (*The Sea of Fertility*), consists of *Haru no yuki* (*Spring Snow*), *Honba* (*Runaway Horses*), *Akatsuki no tera* (*Temple of Dawn*), and *Ten'nin gosui* (*The Decay of the Angel*). On November 25, 1970, the day Mishima sent *Ten'nin gosui* to his publisher, Shinchōsha, he committed suicide. "Mishima Yukio," *Nihon Kindai Bungaku Daijiten* compiled by Nihon Kindai Bungakkan, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), 283.
4. In Japanese, Mishima stated that he wanted to write a "*sekai kaishaku no shōsetsu*," which I translated into a "novel which presented his epistemological understanding of the world." See Mishima Yukio, "*Hōjō no umi ni tsuite*," *Mishima Yukio Zenshū*, vol. 34 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1976), 27.
5. See Mitsuhana Takao, *Mishima Yukio ron* (Tokyo: Satsuki Shobō, 1975); Matsumoto Tōru, *Mishima Yukio: Shittsui o kobanda ikarosu* (Tokyo: Seibundō, 1973); and Terada Tōru, *Sengo no bungaku* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō, 1973).
6. See Mori Takamasa, "*Hōjō no umi aruiwa yume no orikaeshiten*," *Mishima Yukio: Bi to erosu no ronri*, Satō Hideaki, ed. (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1991), 239-54; Takahashi Shigeyoshi, "Chinmoku ga kataru mono," *Mishima Yukio: Bi to erosu no ronri*, Satō Hideaki, ed. (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1991), 226-38; and Roy Starrs, *Deadly Dialectics: Sex, Violence and Nihilism in the World of Yukio Mishima* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1994). 32-36 and 65-72.
7. The idea of *yuishiki* which I will discuss in this paper is Mishima's understanding of *yuishiki* as reflected in *Hōjō no umi*. Mishima's view of *yuishiki* does not exactly coincide with the doctrine of *yuishiki* found in the Yogācāra school and the Hossō sect in Japan because, strictly speaking, the idea of *rin'ne*, or the cycle of births and deaths, is unrelated to *yuishiki* in the Buddhist doctrine. One way in which Mishima is true to the doctrine of *yuishiki* is that, in *Hōjō no umi*, he adopts the notion that everything arises from one's mind and that one's mind is the source of everything. The way in which Mishima associates *rin'ne* with *yuishiki* in *Hōjō no umi* seems to be his own creation. This will be further explained in later sections.

8. *Arayashiki* (Sk. *ālaya-vijñāna*), or “store-consciousness,” is “the eighth and most fundamental of *hasshiki*, or the eight levels of consciousness, established in the doctrine of the Hossō sect.” I will explain more about this in the later sections. For further information, also see “*Arayashiki*,” Inagaki and O’Neill, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*, 9 and “*Arayashiki*,” Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo Daijiten*, Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki, 1975), 10-1.
9. *Manashiki* (Sk. *manas-vijñāna*), or “*manas*-consciousness,” the seventh of the eight levels of consciousness, is “the function of which is to perceive the subjective portion of the eighth consciousness and erroneously regard it as one’s ego, thereby creating ego-attachment.” I will explain more about this in the later sections. For further information, see “*Hasshiki*,” Inagaki and O’Neill, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*, 94 and “*Hachishiki*,” *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten*, Vol. 5, 4208-9.
10. According to Mahayana Buddhism, there are a total of ten realms, or *jikkai* in Japanese, in which the realm of hell is the lowest and the stage of buddhas, the enlightenment, is the highest. See “*Jikkai*,” *Iwanami Bukkyō Jiten*, eds., et al., Nakamura Hajime and Fukunaga Mitsuji (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 364.
11. See also *The Lotus Sutra*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia UP, 1993), xiii-xv.
12. The Mahayana Buddhist tradition, or *Daijō* in Japanese, is the school of the “Great Vehicle” and one of the three major divisions of Buddhism, together with the Theravada (Hinayana) and Vajrayana schools (traditionally, Buddhist scholars considered that there were only two schools, Theravada and Mahayana). In Mahayana, the ideas of the transcendental nature of the Buddha, the universal salvation, and bodhisattva are emphasized. “The Mahayana doctrines appear to have dominated in northwestern India, where they spread into the lands of Central Asia and thence into China, [and], as a result, Chinese Buddhism was from the first overwhelmingly Mahayana in character, and it was this Mahayana version of the faith that in time was introduced to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, where it continues in existence today” (*The Lotus Sutra* xii-xiii).
13. The Theravada Buddhist tradition, or *Shōjō* in Japanese, is the school which used to be called Hinayana, or the “Lesser Vehicle,” which is a derogatory term applied by the Mahayana school. Another name for Theravada is “The Teachings of the Elders.” The goal of the Theravada school is to attain the state of *arahat*, self-salvation. “This is the form of Buddhism that prevails at present in Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos.” See *The Lotus Sutra*, trans. Watson, xii and “Mahayana,” Christmas Humphreys, *A Popular Dictionary of Buddhism* (London: Curzon Press, 1975), 121-2.
14. For further information, see “*Yuishiki*,” *Mochizuki Bukkyō Daijiten*, Vol. 5, 4902.
15. According to the concept of *yuishin*, one of the Mahayana principles, “mind is the ultimate existence and all phenomena are its manifestations or transformation.” See “*Yuishin*,” Inagaki and O’Neill, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms*, 365 and “*Yuishinron*,” *Iwanami Bukkyō Daijiten*, 810.
16. See also Mishima Yukio, *Akatsuki no tera*, *Mishima Yukio Zenshū*, Vol. 19 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1973), 42-4.
17. Mishima begins to illustrate the “weakening” in the link of *rin’ne* between Kiyooki, Isao, and Ying Chan in *Akatsuki no tera*, but this topic is beyond the scope of this paper.
18. *The Lotus Sutra*, which is especially popular in China and Japan, is one of the most important sutras of Mahayana Buddhism. This text contains the essential teachings of the Mahayana Buddhist tradition, which are the doctrines of the transcendental nature of the Buddha and of the possibility of universal salvation. This sutra also “stresses the importance of faith...on the path to liberation, as a result of which the buddhas and bodhisattvas can offer their help” (Fischer-Schreiber, Ehrhard, and Diener 129-30). See also *The Lotus Sutra* x-xxii.
19. It is well known that Mishima stated that the theme of *Hōjō no umi* is “one who is led to *sakimitama* and referred to the central idea of *Haru no yuki* as *nigimitama*, *Honba* as *masuraoburi* or *aramitama*, *Akatsuki no tera* as *kushimitama*, and the fourth story ‘undecided’” (Mishima 26-29). He penned this comment when he had just finished writing 1/3 of *Akatsuki no tera*. Thus, there is a possibility that he added another theme/reading to *Hōjō no umi* by the time he finished writing *Ten’nin gosui*. What I am trying to suggest here is that there are many possible ways in which the tetralogy can be interpreted, including the one which I discuss in this paper. In Shinto, *tama* means a spirit and soul that is “a pure, lofty soul.” *Sakimitama* is “a spirit that imparts blessings,” *nigimitama* is “a spirit empowered to bring union and harmony,” *aramitama* is “a spirit empowered to rule with authority,” and *kushimitama* is “a

spirit that causes mysterious transformations." For Mishima's comments, see Mishima, "*Hōjō no umi ni tsuite*," *Mishima Yukio Zenshū*, Vol. 34, 26-29. For the information about the different Shinto spirits, see "Basic Terms of Shinto." 20. The only obvious sign which connects Tōru to Kiyoaki, Isao, and Ying Chan is a group of three moles at side of his left breast. See Mishima, *Ten'nin gosui*, *Mishima Yukio Zenshū*, Vol. 19, 442.

21. See also Mishima, *Ten'nin*, 555.
22. See also Mishima, *Haru*, 334-5 and 340-1.
23. See also Mishima, *Ten'nin*, 464-5 and Muramatsu 223.
24. See also Mishima, *Ten'nin*, 434.
25. Ibid.
26. See also Mishima, *Decay*, 110-3.
27. Ibid. 113.
28. Ibid. 131.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid. 138.
31. Ibid. 172-4 and 179-81.
32. Ibid. 194-207.
33. Ibid. 204-5.
34. Ibid. 207-9.
35. Ibid. 211.
36. Ibid. 235.
37. Mishima, *Ten'nin*, 421.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid. 421-2.
41. Ibid. 422.
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II. English

(TRES)PASSING INTO WHITE AMERICA: MOSLEY'S PROBLEMATIC REPRESENTATIONS OF BLACK WOMEN IN *DEVIL IN A BLUE DRESS*

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It is the horror of horrors.
-Thomas Jefferson, on miscegenation

Just as the myth of the black male rapist justified post-bellum lynching of black men, the notion of a Cult of True Womanhood¹—to which white women but not black women belonged—justified generations of rapes against black female slaves. Tommy Lott notes the twin myth of black sexuality that applied differently to black men and black women:

The racist discourse that fostered the black rapist myth also subsumed black women, as members of the bestial race, under a twin myth as “sexual savages” incapable of being raped ...both the lynching of black men, as well as the rape of black women, were rationalized and justified on the ground that the black race is not fully human (Lott 318).

The myth of black men as “moral monsters” was a subset of the larger myth that African Americans as a group were “a vile class” (qtd. in Lott 319), bestial (314), “sexual savages.” Neither black men nor black women were considered fully human.

In Walter Mosley's *Devil in a Blue Dress*, Mosley presents a critique of racist stereotypes, particularly the myth of the black male rapist, without addressing the stereotype of black women intimately linked with it. Countering stereotypes of black men as rapists, he presents an alternative worldview in which white men rather than black men are the sexual pyorrhea, pitted against our black protagonist Easy Rawlins, who contrasts with the vilified white figures and abides by a code of morality transcending even law. Mosley avoids stereotypes himself by depicting some whites as moral and some black characters as amoral. The problem with *Devil in the Blue Dress* is that in attempting to break down racist stereotypes of black men, Mosley does not address the racist stereotypes of black women intimately linked with those of black men. According to Lott's twin myth, the myth of the black male rapist and the idea that the black woman was unable to be raped both arise from the belief that blacks as a group were animals and therefore sexual savages. Critiquing the myth of the black rapist without addressing its female counterpart does little to negate the fundamental conception that blacks were sexual animals. Mosley's narrative, in critiquing representations of black men, ironically, presents the central villain, a closeted black woman, as hyper-sexualized and unable to control her sexuality. Mosley's representations of black women undermine his critique of the black rapist myth.

DeWitt Albright, the hyperbolic figure of whiteness who lures Easy into the detective business, displays an amorality which, we will see, extends into sexual perversion: “It's not just that he was white but he wore an off-white linen suit and a Panama straw hat and bone shoes over flashing white silk socks. His skin was smooth and pale with just a few freckles...” (1). Later we learn that he drives a white Cadillac and that “the only part of DeWitt's attire that wasn't white” was his gun (18). DeWitt Albright figures prominently as a paradigm of amorality, a white devil himself. “When he looked at me I felt a thrill of fear,” Easy says when he sees DeWitt Albright for the first time, and when he shakes his hands, “[h]is grip was strong but slithery, like a snake coiling around my hand” (2). DeWitt's lawless, amoral behavior grows more intense as the novel progresses. At the Santa Monica pier where DeWitt comes to the rescue to save Easy from a group of white boys, DeWitt relishes the opportunity to humiliate and perform sexual violence upon others. When he boasts, “I would be proud and happy if he was to lower himself to fuck my sister and my mother,” DeWitt demonstrates sexual perversion in addition to his general menacing quality. “I want you to get down on your knees and suck his peter,” DeWitt threatens one of the boys (56) before finally letting them go. Easy observes that DeWitt has no compunction about killing the young men: “I never doubted for a minute that Albright would have killed that boy,” he says. Mosley underscores the evil Easy associates with DeWitt Albright and other white characters by invoking the horrors of WWII Germany. DeWitt's eyes resemble the eyes of the German soldiers Easy killed in WWII: “His pale blue eyes reminded me of the wide-eyed corpses of German soldiers that I once saw stacked up on a road to Berlin,” he says (23). As a former soldier, Easy is haunted by his memories of killing and of his fear in the face of death. The blue eyes of the German soldiers serve as a kind of metonymy for the fear engendered when confronted by white characters. “The first time I fought a German hand-to-hand,” Easy

recalls, "I screamed for help the whole time I was killing him. His dead eyes stared at me a full five minutes before I let go of his throat" (48). Fixating upon his enemy's blue eyes, Easy conflates all whites with Nazi Germany, Hitler's infamous S.S., and the genocide of the Holocaust, all images of supreme evil, not coincidentally Aryan. In Mosley's world, it is the white characters, not the black characters, which are the social and sexual deviants.

In Maureen Reddy's reading of it, "the one white man in the novel who is sexually active – other than Daphne/Ruby's father, the child abuser, who probably is white – is a depraved pederast from whom Daphne rescues his child victim" (95). When Easy meets Teran for the first time, Teran appears in a long black Cadillac, reeking of an odor which makes Easy gag. Like DeWitt Albright, Matthew Teran also seeks this mysterious woman. And we learn of Teran's pedophilia as an anecdotal aside: "A small boy climbed over the sea. He was wearing soiled briefs and dirty white socks... The sight of that poor child and odors made me cringe" (78-79). Like DeWitt who exhibits a proclivity for perverted sexual violence, Teran displays a sexual amorality, more insidious and inexcusable than even political corruption. "Matthew Teran picked up the little Mexican boy and hugged him to his chest. 'What do you think?'" (Mosley 78-79) Teran says to the boy tenderly, further underscoring his perversion. That Teran targets little Mexican boys as his victims presents an image of white America exploiting the racial other, a project which Mosley clearly takes to task. Though he appears only briefly, Teran's presence serves to add tension between Easy and the white authority figures searching for Daphne Monet. In Mosley's narrative, it is not the black characters that are the rapists. It is the white characters.

Finally, Daphne Monet's father, though little mentioned, plays the most important character of white evil and sexual perversion, presumably causing Daphne Monet's psychosis. Though never identified as explicitly white, Mosley suggests this through Daphne's many relationships with white men, which appear to repeat the history of her sexual relationship with her father. As Daphne tells Easy about her trips to the zoo with her father, she describes her relationship to her father, like her relationship to Todd Carter, as one in which she provides reassurance to an authority figure who should not need it; she collects money as her reward. Daphne says, "Always at first he'd kiss me like a father and his little girl but then we'd get alone someplace and act like real lovers. And always, always after he'd cry so sweet and beg me to forgive him. He bought me presents and gave me money, but I'd've loved him anyway" (191). Like Daphne's father, Todd Carter becomes a child in her presence with Daphne Monet as his mother: "[S]he'd hold him to her breast when he was afraid and ... stand up for him when a shopkeeper or waiter tried to walk over him," Easy relates (119). Mosley suggests here that Daphne's early incest and sexual abuse has instigated her interest in white men such as Todd Carter, a compulsion which forces her to trespass into the white community where she does not belong. As the individual who has inculcated these desires in Daphne, her father represents another figure of white sexual perversion and patriarchal authority, more insidious than even Albright or Teran, in that he is the seminal influence instigating the cycle of desire and betrayal which make Daphne a villain. Daphne's father also figures as the white plantation owner who, as Harriet Jacobs testifies in her *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, took an interest in very young female slaves as well: "Soon she will learn to tremble when she hears her master's footfall. She will be compelled to realize that she is no longer a child. If God has bestowed beauty upon her, it will prove her greatest curse" (Jacobs 217). Like Jacobs who came of age on the plantation of a despotic and sexually exploitive white plantation owner, Daphne/Ruby "bec[a]me prematurely knowing in evil things" (Jacobs 217). Like the white plantation owner who sought "[t]o breed a flock, of slaves for stock" (Lemire 24), Daphne's father has conjugal relations with all of the black women in his keep, as Daphne explains that he visited her bed as often as he visited her mother's (203-204). Daphne functions as the malignant by-product of her father's white sexual perversion. Mosley's narrative becomes problematic, however, when the victim of white patriarchal perversion becomes the villain herself. As the "devil in the blue dress," Daphne's villainy supplants these early villains in the text and undermines his earlier critiques of white America.

The sexual perversions of DeWitt Albright, Matthew Teran, and Daphne Monet's father together create a worldview, which counters the stereotype of black men as uncontrollable sexual predators. In the world presented in *Devil in a Blue Dress*, it is rather the white characters who assume these traits. In contrast to these white characters' twisted desires, Easy's sexual relations mark his virility and masculinity. Mosley takes special care to show that Easy is not a rapist but rather prey to the sexuality of the women who coerce him into having relations. As Easy muses on his experience with white soldiers during WWII, he recalls the inner voice within him instructing him to kill. "'Kill that motherfucker,' he [the voice] told me. And I did," Easy remembers (99). Despite the violence of his inner voice, Easy makes clear that the killing he engaged in was

killing sanctioned by war; this violence never morphed into sexual energy. "The voice had no lust," he explains. "He never told me to rape or steal. He just tells me how it is if I want to survive" (99). In the sexual encounters Easy has with Coretta and Daphne, Easy is presented as morally upright and at worst indifferent. Easy's sexual partners, in fact, hold Easy under duress, Coretta bribing Easy with information and Daphne possessing him with her charms. A reversal of the black male rapist stereotype, Easy expresses apprehension toward the sexual encounters. Reneging his responsibility in the sex act, he deflects the onus of sexual desire upon his black female sexual partners who are hyper-sexualized, unloyal, and unable to control their sexuality.

Coretta Dupree, the only other female character of note besides Daphne Monet, betrays her hyper-sexuality almost immediately upon meeting Easy. As Easy sits with Coretta and Dupree, Easy's former co-worker and Coretta's partner, Easy pours Coretta another glass. Coretta answers suggestively, "Maybe I'll have another lil taste, if you wanna pour" (39). Despite the presence of her lover, Coretta partakes in a kind of sexual foreplay with Easy, which does indeed culminate in the sex act. "I better get going," Easy urges Coretta after he has escorted her and Dupree home. "You got another man right in the next room, baby. What if he hears sumpin'?" he argues, appealing to her sense of loyalty as well as to her dignity and morality. "He use' to play till the cock crowed, but that ole cock don't crow nearly so much no mo'" (40), Coretta says, providing her justification for pursuing Easy. "You know I never got just one boyfriend" she taunts (42), betraying her insatiable sexual desires. Coretta plays the active role while Easy expresses apprehension: "She slid her hand into her blouse, lifting the bodice to air her breasts. I staggered to my feet and took the two steps to the door" (42). In contrast to Easy's sexual restraint, Coretta is portrayed as sexually loose and unloyal with regards to her relationship with Dupree. Coretta coerces Easy into staying finally by offering him the information he seeks. Only after she begins to offer information about Daphne does Easy submit. In response to Coretta's concern about Dupree being in the next room, Easy now says, "Fo'get about him! You got me goin', Coretta" (43). Though Easy's predication at Coretta's home presents a morally complicated situation, the important point is that Easy exhibits control of his sexuality; his actions reflect controlled consideration. In a reversal of the black male rapist myth, Easy controls his sexuality, succumbing to it not out of lust, but only after it becomes professionally pragmatic.

The central character, Daphne Monet, also displays a sexual looseness and pathological lack of loyalty, in some ways exaggerating the stereotype of black female sexuality. Though she maintains relations with many men, black and white, Daphne Monet's declarations of love amount to little. She maintains little loyalty to the men she purports to love, walks away easily from relationships, and is even able to walk away from the murdered corpse of a former lover. Her mixed race status results in a lawlessness intimately linked with her refusal to fully integrate into either the black or white community. Though Monet says she loves Todd Carter, she walks away from the relationship when it means her identity will be revealed. "I do love him," she tries to explain to Easy, "and because of that I can't ever see him" (186). Demonstrating the meaningless of her declarations of love, Daphne Monet, soon after, declares that she loves Easy: "I love you, Easy," she says. "I knew it from the first moment we met" (187). Meanwhile, she maintains her greatest loyalty to Frank Green, whom she plans to share Todd Carter's money with. "That's all Frank and I have. I won't give it up," she says when Mouse suggests he wants a "piece'a that big pie" (199). Daphne Monet is a devil in that she seduces men into submission and then betrays them. Though she exhibits a more compelling loyalty to Frank Green, this relationship is an exception in that it is platonic. Moreover, her continued presence in her brother's life, even if the two had successfully absconded with Todd Carter's money, remains doubtful; the novel suggests that Daphne's schizophrenic personality will once again unhinge her stability and cause her to leave the black community again for another relationship with a white man. Though her primary loyalties lie with the black community, Daphne reneges on any duties she might have to them; she remains unstable in this way. Her psychosis and villainy lie in her inability to completely give herself over to one man or one community.

Like the lovelorn figures of authority Mosley spoofs, Easy too falls prey to Daphne Monet's irresistible sexuality. Immediately taken with her photograph, which persuades him to take the case in the first place, Easy slowly grows fond of the mysterious woman he searches for, foreshadowing a romantic encounter between the two. He meets Daphne Monet face-to-face and soon after their meeting, Daphne and Easy have sex. Like the white plantation owners who were thought to be "prey to the rampant sexuality of his female slaves" (Carby 27), Easy is presented as a helpless victim of Daphne's sexuality, once again deflecting the onus of sexual desire onto the black female.

Daphne Monet, a woman I didn't know at all personally, had me laid back in the deep porcelain tub while she carefully washed between my toes and then up my legs. I had an erection lying flat against my stomach and I was breathing slowly, like a small boy poised to catch a butterfly (180).

Mosley uses passive verbs to describe his actions during Daphne Monet's seduction and presents Easy as an inert figure, whose only movements – breathing and maintaining an erection – are involuntary. Daphne Monet positions Easy in the bathtub, washes him, and takes an active role in seducing Easy into compliance. Mosley depicts Easy as a child, “a small boy poised to catch a butterfly” with Daphne again the maternal figure bathing a child. With this, Mosley, consciously or unconsciously, puts Easy in the same category of men as Todd Carter and Daphne's father, who also exhibit childlike qualities under Daphne's spell. This raises problems for Easy, since he, in effect, engages in the very same behavior which Mosley purports to critique – that of Daphne's father as the white plantation owner prey to his black daughter's uncontrollable sexuality. Though Easy's active sex life demonstrates his virility and masculinity, his passive behavior in both incidents implicates the black women he encounters, leaving his own responsibility in the sex act in question. After Daphne and Easy have had sex and Daphne prepares to leave, Easy voices his anger at feeling used: “You mean all you want from me is a roll in the hay,” he says. “Get a little nigger-love out back and then straighten your clothes and put on your lipstick like you don't ever even feel it” (187). With this statement, Easy denies his complicity in the encounter. As in his encounter with Coretta, Easy resists to the utmost. Only after Coretta offers vital information does Easy submit. Similarly, Mosley portrays Easy as helpless against Daphne Monet's powerful feminine wiles. The statement also demonstrates Easy's sense of betrayal after the sex act, a betrayal surely felt by Daphne Monet's many men after she has left them for the next man. By assuming the same characteristics as the white men who were “prey to the rampant sexuality of their black female[s]” (Carby 27), Easy joins the ranks of these racist figures; the main character's actions betray the author's social commentary.

Bell hooks has argued that “[b]lack men who embrace patriarchal masculinity, phallocentrism and sexism...do not threaten or challenge white domination...but reinscribe it” (qtd. in Berger, 289). Perhaps like his Easy Rawlins character, Mosley means to demonstrate his ability to play the game according to white men's rules. That is, in seeking validation as a writer through his first novel Mosley modeled *Devil in a Blue Dress* on Chandler and Spillane in order to show that he too could write the formulaic hardboiled detective novel. Perhaps like the trickster of African American tradition, Mosley aims to signify and repeat the story “with a signal difference” (Gates xx), that difference being his critique of corrupt white authority. His critique falls short, however, for in reenvisioning the hardboiled detective, he does not revise it but rather assumes the racist and sexist ideologies that go with it. Responding to hooks, Berger comments that when Mosley employs the Chandlerian hardboiled detective style, he “ultimately embrace[s] the essentially conservative thematics of the L.A. detective story [and] Mosley's novels mute their subversiveness and reinforce the reassuring quality of formulaic detective fiction” (281). Though Mosley critiques the hardboiled detective novel in presenting his white characters as vilified versus his morally upright black protagonist striving against a corrupt world, Mosley's sexist portrayals of women partake in the misogynistic hardboiled tradition; he celebrates the hardboiled aesthetic which includes racist formations of the other. In attempting to slough off the stereotype of the black sexual predator, Mosley implicates black women as sexual savages, a move which undermines his critique in continuing to portray blacks as sexually uncontrollable.

NOTES

1. According to the cult of true womanhood, which dominated female behavior in the 19th century, white feminine sexuality, in order to qualify as the paragon of virtue necessary for marriage, demonstrated not sexuality, but heightened charm and refinement. Overt sexuality, on the other hand, emerged exclusively in the images of black women. White men, confronted with a black woman whose charms were thought to be related to “the dark forces of evil and magic”, were, as a result, justified in behaving in a manner untempered by any virtuous qualities (Carby 27).

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THREE POEMS

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1. A CAMEL AND A CAMERA IN TOKYO, 2003

Memory is hunger.
-- Hemingway, *A Movable Feast*

My senile wife disappeared at last today.
Leaving her senile husband alone here.
She left alone, almost naked.
Maybe wandering around in Shinjuku or Shibuya.
Winter is getting harsher.
Night is no more young.
Yet, she is out. Maybe dying.
I am still waiting in this room.
Without eating anything.
Cannot eat without her.

"Senility is a beauty."
She declared last night.
"You also have to be proud of it."

"I don't know you."
I confessed at last.
"My wife died of hunger during the Pacific war."

Then, she whispered.
"My husband, too. In Manchuria.
As a patriotic soldier."

Then, I replied.
"In 1945, eh? The year we wedded again.
The year we started building this new Japan."

She continued.
"There is one thing I have not told you about since our marriage.
I am a camel. I came from the Sahara.
In 1945, a big caravan brought me here."

I replied quickly.
"There is one thing I have not told you about, too.
I am a camera. I have framed everything neatly.
In fact, you are also my picture."

"The caravan leader folded my hind leg
and tied it hard on a freight," she added.
"Some nights later, I was in a huge market.
Camels like me were everywhere."

"Once filmed by me,
everything looks like a charming product,"
I continued.

"But, I have never taken my own picture yet.
I don't even know my own face."

"I know your face," she said.
"You look like the caravan leader who tied my leg."
Then, she fell asleep, but I could not easily.
As I started sleeping finally, I felt her touch.

"Human beings are boring creatures," she said in her sleep.
"They are not hairy at all."
"A camera should be slick," I said in my sleep.
"Otherwise, well, no one would buy it."

Oh, I cannot stand this loneliness anymore.
Time to go outside and search for her.
One McDonald's after another.
One Starbucks after another.
No camel is found yet.
Everybody looks as slick as me.
Carries a fancy lens.
Makes this city so charming.
I should be starved now.
Because so is she.
Hunger shapes us well.
It did in the war.

Now I am in a marketplace.
My past looms up vaguely.
Yes, I have been here before.
Half a century ago.
People were walking slow.
With their legs folded.
And tied fast.
Over the vast ruins.

I find a familiar shadow passing away.
Two humps on her back.
I cannot catch up.
She is going back to where she once belonged.
She needs more sand.
Sand hurts me.

Dawn is coming.
Time to go back.
To where I once belonged.
To that bleak room?
Yes, we built this city.
Sacrificed our lives.
That is why we had no child.
One for all.

Time to go back and take off my clothes.
Time for more hairs and two gigantic humps.
Time to throw away my obsolete lens.
Time to fold and tie my leg and sleep my life away.

2. A WOMAN FULL OF WATER

Midnight.
The center of the city is uncannily quiet now.
No more tram runs.
No more car goes by..
Oddly, even no glimpse of passers-by.
The baseball stadium looks like a big haunted house.
Each department store looks like a tanker
wrecked at the bottom of the sea.
Seems to me that only we are living in this city, I say.
Without saying a word,
she looks up at the top of the A-bomb Dome.
The full moon is shining above it.
Midnight.

Off limits.
The Dome is surrounded by a tall black hedge.
“Can you climb this and jump into the other side,” she says.
“For what? We may be reported to the police,” I say.
“Why do you always have to have a rationale for everything,” she says.
And sneers.
She suddenly flies like a bat
and lands on the inner site full of rubble.
“If you want to have my body, come here,” she says.
Her scent is seductive.
But I hesitate.
I check the sign again.
Off limits.

Millions of cicadae.
They start chirring
at each branch of each tree in the Peace Memorial Park.
Their lives will end shortly.
But, they don't seem to care.
Sultry night.
City lights go out, one after another.
She starts stripping down.
Right on the old ashes of the dead.
Moonlight exposes her everything to my eyes.
I still hesitate outside of the hedge.
Darkness begins to shroud her flesh.
I get jealous of Darkness.
Millions of cicadae.

Common ground.
Between her and me.
Both of us were born here in Hiroshima.
The same skin color, the same hair color.
The Dome was an everyday ruin for us,
not a mecca of sacred prayer.
The Park was another playground for us,
not an arena for tombstones.
We were taught to use our imagination to visualize

what the hypocenter had been like at that moment.
Besides, both of us are chronically insomniac now.
Yes, we have some common ground.

Differences.

Between her and me.

She hates our national language

and wishes to perfect her English and Esperanto.

I have no intention to learn any foreign language.

She cares for humanity.

I care for whoever cares for me in this city.

For her, life would be nothing without digressions.

For me, it would be nothing without repetitions.

For her, passion means sex.

For me, passion means art.

Surely, we need each other.

Differences.

The blast of moonlight.

She throws her clothes to me

and lies at the center of the Dome, face up.

I think I'm sleeping now, she says.

I wish I could have been alive at that moment;

I wish I could have watched the bomb blasting overhead, she says.

Now, death is so skillfully hidden in this country

that I cannot experience any true terror here, she says.

All I have is hypocritical words and no original terror, she says.

The blast of moonlight.

Mixed emotions.

I want to copulate with her,

because I have never made love with her before.

The way she looks up at the moon over there infatuates me.

The way she dauntlessly seduces me over there

almost transfigures my entire system.

At the same time, though,

I cannot forgive what she has said right now.

That sounded like an insult to this city's history,

to this city's dignity,

to the world peace,

and to me.

So, mixed emotions.

Someone in the dark.

A drunkard? No.

Not only one, but some.

Homeless men and women?

No. Many people.

Millions of people.

Faceless people.

Bodiless people.

Each one of them is a part of the whole Darkness.

Darkness starts to copulate with her.

She still looks at me.

I still hesitate to go in.

I may be able to save her, if I only try.
But, I cannot try easily.
Darkness excludes me, though moonlight evades me.
Still, someone in the dark.

Kono onna no karada wa mizu darake dana
(This woman is full of water), Darkness says.

Kore de youyaku nodo ga uruoseru kamo shirenai
(She may be able to quench our long-standing thirst).

Sore ni hikikae
saku no mukou ni iru ano otoko wa
nante yakutatazu nanda
(Compared with her,
the man standing behind the hedge is simply useless).

Doko nimo mizu nado nasasouna karadatsuki janaika
(He seems to have no water inside of his body).

Shikashi (But)
kono onna no karada wa mizu darake dana.

I still hesitate here.
The copulation escalates.
Right before my eyes.
Holding the top of the hedge, I read the sign again.
Off limits.
My emotions are still mixed.
Moonlight remains to blast over her body.
Darkness ejaculates at last.
Millions of cicadae suddenly stop chirring, altogether.
She starts to sleep alone at the center of the Dome.
No more tram runs.
No more car goes by.
Seems to me that only we are living in this city.
I want to sleep, too.
But I still hesitate here.

3. APPEARANCES AND DISAPPEARANCES

There are boundaries, and we cross them always at some risk.
– Ovid, *Metamorphosis*

“Hey, kin ya pay me dis much, Mr. Lonesome Mainlander?”

She whispers,
while picking me up on the main street at night.
She opens her palm
and shows me her five slender fingers.
“If ya kin, I go ya place wis ya from now
and do evrytin ya want me do. Only tonight, OK?”
She chuckles.
Wasn’t I only imagining a girl like her,
while looking absent-mindedly at a small black hat left on the asphalt?
Now, before I know it, she wears the very hat.
How old are you, I ask.
“So what? Ya leave dis island very soon, eh?”
How did you know I’m not a local, I ask.
“Ya face, Mr. Horny Mainlander.”
She speaks with a local accent.
She does everything I want her to do in my room.
When I’m about to pay, she asks.
“Ya OKed me, cause I look like exotic local?”
Well, maybe, I say.
“I tink I am a local gal, but people say ma family not yet local.
Dey say we need moaa self. . . self-sac. . .”
What? Self-sacrifice?
She chuckles again and changes her subject.
“If ya want see me agin, come back tomorro to place we met.”
What if I don’t, I ask.
“Ya want know me more. So, ya come back.
Ya so programmed now.”
She starts sleeping by my side.
Then, while I’m fast asleep,
she, with her small black hat on,
disappears.

Then, finally, this long dream ends.
I wake up absent-mindedly.
I open a yellowish curtain.
Sunny day, as always, and very hot again.
Somehow reminds me of Hawaii or Okinawa in summertime.
Absent-mindedly, I change my clothes,
have a breakfast,
and leave this messy room.

Only once a year,
the main street is changed into a pedestrian precinct
and quite crowded.
Yet, the air is still full of exhaust gas.
Tourists after tourists, as always.

Yes, I was like them last year, I mumble.
 Why did I choose to live here? I wonder again.
 Wasn't I tired of living "over there?"
 Didn't the island life look cozier?
 Moved by this island's tragic history?
 Just wanted an island girl?
 Anyway, I may look more like a local now, I mumble jokingly.
 And blush faintly.
 A number of colorfully dressed street performers
 are trying to draw the attention of every passer-by,
 dripping with sweat.
 Somehow reminds me of Disneyland.
 As the girl has suggested in the dream,
 I start walking up to yesterday's place.
 Standing there is
 a Cupid-like statue of the last queen of the ancient island empire,
 who was jailed,
 raped,
 and tortured by the mainland government,
 and finally forced to
 disappear.

Then,
 I notice an old woman kowtowing alone over the heated asphalt,
 facing the Cupid-like queen.
 I stand in the shade
 and watch her from a distance, still absent-mindedly.
 "I'm really sorry, all the Islanders," she shouts suddenly.
 "On behalf of my homeland, I mean, the so-called mainland,
 I sincerely apologize to you
 for what its government did to your ancestors
 for a long, long time."
 She gradually raises her head.
 Blood all over her face.
 She quickly drops her head and bangs her face
 directly against the asphalt.
 The woman keeps banging her face,
 again and again and again.
 However, no passenger dares to stop to watch her,
 except for two bystanders.

Then,
 an old bearded man in a wheelchair,
 with a wooden sword in his right hand,
 appears from somewhere and starts shouting to the old woman.
 "Don't apologize, you bitch!"
 Wearing an old military uniform,
 he starts brandishing the sword at random to attack the woman,
 but cannot hit her precisely.
 I assume that his eyes cannot see at all.
 He yells.
 "My god! She's disappeared!"

The woman still keeps shouting in tears.

"I'M REALLY SORRY, MY DEAR ISLANDERS!"

A small black hat places itself behind her back.

The man quickly shouts back, brandishing the sword desperately.

"WHO GAVE THEM WHAT THEY NEEDED TO MODERNIZE THEMSELVES? IT'S US, MAINLANDERS! THEY SHOULD THANK US! DON'T APOLOGIZE, OLD HAG! OTHERWISE, I WILL KEEP CALLING YOU A TRAITOR!"

Finally, his sword hits the woman's spine.

She collapses flimsily.

Blood starts looming up over her white back.

Still, she pulls herself together and cries to the queen.

"I'm. . . really. . . sorry."

The old man starts pushing his wheelchair

recklessly around the statue, pleased at having caught his prey.

"Dey did da same performance here yesday, did dey?"

One of the bystanders says loudly.

No, this pedestrian precinct is held only once a year,

I mumble in my mind.

"Yeah, dey did. Dey are marry, eh?" The other asks.

"Yeah. Dey had no daughter? She here las night?"

"Yeah. I came see her, not dem."

They drop several coins into the small black hat,
and finally disappear.

The old woman keeps crying and apologizing.

The old man keeps hitting his sword against her bloody back.

I start wondering again.

About me and the girl and her parents.

Some may avoid wondering this way,
considering it simply unproductive.

But I cannot help wondering.

Because wondering seems far more intriguing
than choosing or deciding.

Wondering makes me a man of dreamy quality.

Another night comes at last.

The old woman with a bloody face stands up
and dusts off her clothes.

The old blind man stands up and folds his wheelchair.

They are ready to leave now.

I approach them and look into the hat.

Yes, it's the girl's hat.

Some bills are in it.

The same amount of bills as I paid the girl.

The old woman picks up the money, chuckling.

And leaves the hat on the asphalt, like last night.

Again, I'm imagining alone in front of the same hat.

Waiting for the girl's same whisper.

If this hat could be metamorphosed into her again.

The next long dream seems already on.

I may be so programmed.

The two old performers start retreating
gradually into the dark, like last night.

Accordingly,
the whole Disneyland kind of thing on the main street
also gradually disappears.

“Hey, kin ya pay me dis much, Mr. Lonesome Mainlander?”

III. Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas

WOMEN WRITERS IN THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

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1.0. INTRODUCTION

At the time of the Renaissance in France (1500's) men were, in general, more literate than women. However, the king, François I, a Valois who supported actively the printing press and literature, the man who brought the culture of Italy to France along with one of Italy's most famous sons, Leonardo da Vinci, though very intelligent and liberal, spoke Italian but did not read Latin or Greek and could barely write his name. According to recent research, he liked to learn and to listen to debates, he had a good memory, he was curious and passionate about natural history and art, but he was not literate. Famous humanist philologist, Guillaume Budé, wrote to Erasmus, the great humanist, warning him that François I:

"n'est pas lettre-*literarum nescius* – ce qui, je le regrette, est trop frequent chez nos rois." Guillaume Postel said of François I, "il ne progressa quere au-dela de lire en francais et d'ecrire son nom: *Françoys*, en caracteres presque informes et grossiers" (Fumaroli, 1998, p. 146).

« François I is literarily ignorant – *literarum nescius* -- which, I regret is too frequent among our kings. » Guillaume Postel said of François I, « he has hardly progressed above that of reading French and writing his name : *Françoys*, in letters that are coarse and not uniform » (my translation).

Erasmus added "non" to the sentence "*literarum NON nescius est*" (the king is **not** literarily ignorant - my translation) (Fumaroli, 1998, p. 146) because his letters (Erasmus') were public. Hence the reputation of the king as a literate man, a myth which continues still among the best historians, survives.

However, this paper will not speak about men. It will speak about women who, though they were not born queens, were more educated than the king and belonged to what Montaigne calls in his essay "The Institution of Children" (2001, Book I, chapter XXV) "*la race lettrée*" ("the literary race"). It will speak of the king's sister, Marguerite of Navarre, who, though very close to her brother, was the antithesis of his literary and language interests. She was "*lettrée*" (literate) and an excellent writer (he was not). It will speak of other women who were more literate than their king, writing poetry and prose, speaking and translating Latin and Greek. It will speak of women who went to battle, wrote ardent and passionate poetry, published books during their lifetime, published books so popular they required three additional printings in one year, and had salons. It will speak of women who counseled with kings, entertained ambassadors in the Latin language; women who raised families, educated themselves, edited and published the well-known pieces of literature such as the *Essais* of Montaigne; women involved in the foundation of the "Académie française"; a woman "celebrated as one of the seventy most famous women of all time" (Hillman & Quesnel, 2002); a woman who negotiated the release of her hostage king, harbored political dissidents threatened by the Sorbonne; and a woman who wrote a book of *Deeds of Arms and Chivalry*, using detailed descriptions of gunpowder weapons.

Why did these women accomplish these feats? Was there a commonality among them enabling success? Was it because of the printing press that these women excelled? Was it because they were the first feminists? Though many of these women were known and celebrated by Agrippa D'Aubigné in the seventeenth century and by Chateaubriand in the nineteenth century, are we in the 20th century just now rediscovering them? Was there a diffusion of Italian influence either through inheritance, through cities linked to Italy such as Lyon, or through family members with a strong Italian cultural influence? Was it a characteristic of the French Society which had a tradition of liberalism toward its women which encouraged success? Was it family factors such as wealth, education, marital status and class which determined success?

While attempting to find an answer to these questions, this paper will briefly discuss the wealth, marital status, education, class and Italian connection of these women to try to determine a common denominator of success. The sample is small. My contribution limits itself to an inquiry into the lives of five illustrious women of the French Renaissance: Louise Labé from Lyon; Catherine de Clermont, Duchesse de Retz, married to a man of Italian descent; Christine de Pizan, an Italian raised in Paris; Marie le Jars de Gournay, Paris; and Marguerite de Navarre, Paris.

I begin with Louise Labé, Catherine de Clermont and Christine de Pizan because they share in common a connection with Italy.

2.0. LOUISE LABE: (1522-1566)

This woman from Lyon is considered by some to be the greatest poetess of the Renaissance. She was the wealthy daughter of a rope maker. She was known as “the beautiful rope maker.”

She was a bourgeois who somehow made her way among the aristocratic and refined of Lyon to become an excellent writer and innovator. Lyon was a great cultural city in the 16th century. It was a vibrant metropolis, very much influenced by Italian culture, situated on one of the major trade routes in Europe. It was a center of banking, trade and publishing. Renaissance thinkers would escape here to avoid the authority of the Sorbonne in Paris. Lyon was also an extremely important publishing center (Skemp & Miller, 2003). There was an unusually open literary climate which nurtured the arts for both women and men through collective activity in informal social gatherings.

Louise received a most excellent education according to humanist ideals, including the learning of Latin, Greek and Italian. Though her mother died when she was a small child, her father recognized very early his daughter’s beauty, intelligence and vivacity. She played the lute and was called the “woman of the lute.” She learned the art of jousting, the practice of arms, traditionally reserved for men, and participated along with her brother in jousting tournaments dressed as a man (Darcos, 1992, p. 92). During her childhood she adored chivalric novels and read Castiglione, Boccaccio, Petrarch and Dante.

She married a wealthy cord maker 30 years older than she, Ennemond Perrin. She was widowed for about 6 years, after which she herself died at around 40 years of age. Her husband enabled her to associate with the notable literary figures of the Lyon school, including Maurice Scève, Pernette Du Guillet, Olivier de Magny, and Pontus de Tyard (Skemp & Miller, 2003).

Louise Labé is the woman who went to battle for her king at the siege of Perpignan as a knight under the name of “Captain Loys”. She expressed out-right passion in her poetry which earned her the title of “Plebeia meretrix” from Calvin (Skemp & Miller, 2003). She was reproached for her immodesty and as a woman of low life.

She was the only poet of Lyon to be published during her lifetime. Her *Oeuvres de Louise Labé Lyonnoise* was printed by privilege accorded from the King in 1555. This first edition was followed by three others a year later, which attests to its immediate popularity (Skemp & Miller, 2003). It was a book of love sonnets in the Petrarchan style. She wrote of love for a man which was not ethereal love. On the contrary, it was passionate and sensual. She used the first person more than Ronsard who used the indirect technique of speaking through a woman to express his feelings. (In *Amour*, Ronsard used “I” just once, at the end.) She said, in *The Debate of Folly and Love*, “The greatest pleasure that there is, besides love, is talking about it” (Farrell, 1986, p. 145). Examples of her fiery poetry follow:

Sonnet 18 Petrarchan

Kiss Me. Again. More kisses I desire.
Give me one your sweetness to express.
Give me the most passionate you possess.
Four I’ll return, and hotter than the fire (p. 145).

Sonnet 8

Je vis, je meurs: je me brule et me noie.
J’ai chaud extrême en endurent froidure:

I live, I die, I burn and drown
I suffer extreme heat while enduring cold (my translation).

She also had a strong sense of her individuality and self-worth, writing: "And know that elsewhere there's no one like me" (Farrell, 1986, p.92). This is reminiscent of Montaigne, "I have never seen a monster or a miracle in the world more distinct than myself" (2001, p. 1029).

She "invite les femmes a participer a l'essor humaniste de la Renaissance, a regarder un peu au -- dessus de leurs quenouilles et de leur fuseaux, a refuser d'etre 'femme-objet'" [encouraged women to partake of the fruits of the Renaissance, to look beyond their dumplings and their spinning wheels, refusing to be an object] (Darcos, 1992, p. 92). She encouraged women to be more than women who receive status solely from their husbands, expressed in clothing and adornments, jeweled rings and gold chains. She urged them to be acknowledged for their own accomplishments by saying, "the honor that knowledge will give us will be entirely ours: and it will not be taken from us by the thief's skill, or by the strength of foes, or by the passage of time" (Jordan, 1990, p. 174).

3.0. CATHERINE DE CLERMONT, DUCHESSE DE RETZ (1543-1603)¹

At 22 years of age Catherine was married. By 25 she was at liberty because of the death of her husband, the Duke de Retz. She married again, this time to Albert de Gondi against her mother's curses and a cousin's fit of anger. The newly chosen was double her age, handsome, cultured and rich. She did not need this marriage to open the door to the court where her mother had already been a brilliant figure for a long time. In fact, she brought her husband as a dowry, arranged by the queen (Italian, Catherine de Medici), her name of Retz from her first husband giving de Gondi the French aristocracy which he lacked. Catherine was of a noble heritage, the daughter of a baron; her mother was related to Brantôme. One of her descendents was the Marquise of Rambouillet with her Hôtel and the other was the Cardinal de Retz. Her husband, Gondi, through his affluence, brought Catherine the possibility of having her own court (Bertiére, 1990, p. 32).

She was touted to be the most beautiful woman in the kingdom and the most wise, an ornament of glory to her sex, a miracle of her time, etc. However, her beauty was idealized as shown by an engraved portrait. She is shown there if one can believe it, with blond hair, a fleshy nose, a large coif in the form of a strawberry and a waist strangled in an incredibly straight corset. The whole appearance seems a lack of charm (Bertiére, 1990, p. 34). Yet a great number of literary works, perhaps the most received by a woman, were dedicated to her.

Concerning the magnitude of her spirit, her admirers are more explicit. The Bishop of Noailles was responsible for her education, teaching her Latin and Greek which she spoke to perfection. She composed verse and poetry and was "the most learned and well versed in poetry and oratory as well as in philosophy, mathematics, history and other sciences" (Bertiére, 1990, p. 22). Catherine also edited the *Tragiques* of which nothing remains (Bertiére, 1990, p. 35).

She is the woman who covered herself in glory when the Polish ambassadors came to offer the Duke of Anjou in 1573 the elective crown of Poland. They spoke in Latin as the international language and no one among the courtesans was able to give an answer. It was the Duchess of Retz who answered the harangue of the Bishop of Posnan with a welcoming address very well delivered and who, during their whole stay acted as interpreter between the royal family and the Polish ambassadors (Bertiére, 1990, p. 34). This shows that knowledge in speaking the dead languages was not solely the domain of men like Budé and Montaigne.

The Duchess was one of the rare women admitted by Henri III to the Palace Academy. These were meetings which the king organized two times per month in his study from 1576 to 1579 to "hear the learned" on the subjects of morals, religion, honor, ambition, anger, envy, fear, truth and lies, knowledge and the soul. Each meeting had a theme. One of the participants presented an expose followed by discussion. D'Aubigne recalled a match between the marechale de Retz and Mme de Lignerolles evaluating the respective excellence of moral virtues and intellectual virtues, from a theme equally treated by Ronsard and Desportes. They brought honor to themselves and proved "that they knew more...than words" (Bertiére, 1990, p. 35).

During the most intense part of the Civil War, while her husband was absent, the muse of the literary salon became a woman of action, assembling her troops to defend her lands threatened by pillage and saving her

subjects from massacre, acting “with a courage truly male” (Berti re, 1990, p. 37). The King, this time Henri IV, had great esteem for her and used her on his council concerning affairs of considerable consequence (Berti re, 1990, p. 31 footnote).

At her Hotel de Retz she received all those who were known in literature, notably the poets of the Pl iade and many outstanding women noted for their beauty and their spirit. Among her friends were Henriette de Cl ves, duchesse de N vers, Marguerite de Valois, wife of the king of Navarre and Helene of Surg res, praised by Ronsard (Berti re, 1990, p. 35).

In addition to raising her ten children, Mme de Retz was an integral part of the court. She knew all the love secrets, some of which she couldn’t contain and leaked through her correspondence. Her best friends at court, the famous Margot and the Duchess of N vers, were having intrigues. Did she imitate them? Her famous grandson, as a young man, the abbey of Gondi, to be the future Cardinal de Retz was perusing a manuscript of Brant me in his friend’s home in which he found reference to his grandmother’s lovers. He asked for permission to blot out this reference, and “he erased it so well that not a single word could be deciphered” (Berti re, 1990, p. 37).

Whatever was transpiring at court didn’t seem to have bothered the couple, Catherine de Clermont and her husband, Albert de Gondi. Their union was sealed by a common ambition for success which was achieved by a division of tasks. He managed, in secret, the affairs of the cabinet, war and diplomacy. She represented them at court. She excelled in literature and the arts which paid dividends to her husband. During his many absences she took care of their land. Solid in the family fortune, they together decided political direction on behalf of Henri IV. Their difference in age was a benefit to them. She died one year after his death (Berti re, 1990, p. 37). She was 40 years old.

4.0. CHRISTINE DE PIZAN (1365-1430)

Poetess and first French feminist author, Christine de Pizan (1364-1431), was born in Venice, Italy but came to the French court of Charles V with her father Tommaso di Benvenuto da Pizzano who was the royal court astrologer and physician when she was three or four. Some historians speculate that

Tommaso was an adviser to the court librarian on scientific books. Charles V’s library was, if not the best, than one of the best, in Europe. Such a position would explain her father’s reputation, Christine’s access to books, Christine’s knowledge of both the printing trade and the best craftsmen in the trade, and her entr e into the circles of the rich and powerful. (Willard, 1984, p. 30)

Christine later wrote a historical account of Charles V called, *The Book of the Deeds and Good Character of King Charles V the Wise*.

She spent her childhood at the court where she received an aristocratic education tutored by her father who had wanted a son but did not penalize Christine for being a girl. Her mother (though a graduate herself from the University of Bologna according to one account (Christine de Pizan Web Page, 2002) was against this idea as it would make her less marriageable. However, she received an extraordinary education for a 14th century woman, a renaissance education which included religion, classical languages, philosophy, literature and the sciences known to the medieval world. She was well versed in the literatures of not only the ancient world, but of the writers of her own native Italy. She is credited with introducing the writings of Dante to the French.

Married at 15 to a nobleman ten years her senior (Etienne de Castel), who was the court notary and secretary to the king, she was widowed at 25 when he died of the plague. Her husband’s estate took 14 years and numerous lawsuits to close. She had to defend her rights to inheritance in the courts. (Willard, 1984, p. 39). Christine was forced to support her three children (as well as her mother and a niece, as her father died four years previously) by editing and writing for wealthy patrons until she started writing and publishing works of her own. She edited works on demand for the aristocratic public and supervised beautifully made manuscripts. She copied and illustrated other people’s works (Lerner, 1993, p. 143). She was commissioned to write some of her works. Therefore some scholars consider her Europe’s first professional writer (Lerner, 1993, p. 143).

Her poems and prose works were dedicated to many of the nobility, including Queen Isabeau of Bavière, Prince Philip the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke de Berry who in turn were obviously sponsors of the widowed writer (Christine de Pizan "The Educational Legacy", 2004).

At first she wrote courtly poetry fashionable in her circles. After several years she turned to more weighty and intellectual matters (Kellogg, 2003). She seriously defended the critics of *Roman de la Rose* by Jean de Meun in a book called *Debate on the Roman de la Rose* in which she was against the exploitation of women for the satisfaction of passion and desire which promoted destructive and demeaning attitudes towards women. "It was this feminist aspect of the debate that caught popular attention, since to find a woman rising in defense of her sex against the sort of attack that was traditional throughout the Middle Ages was quite unheard of" (Willard, 1984, p. 73).

Her work, *The Fayttes of Armes*, is based on her reading of Vegetius, a writer of ancient Rome. This work she published anonymously because Christine believed it would not be taken seriously if it were known a woman had written it. She felt one should only fight to defend the kingdom, not for revenge or grudges. She uses more detailed description of gunpowder weapons (as compared to anything else written at the time) (Willard, 1984, p. 73). Throughout her canon of works, the range of her own scholarship is evident in her citation of the "auctores" or authoritative texts ("Christine de Pizan," 2004). Her book, *The Fayttes of Arms*, was known in the time of Charles VII, to be in the libraries of major French leaders, such as the constable de Richmond. A testament as to its perceived value is that it was among the first works to be published in print when that medium began to blossom at the end of the fifteenth century. It was published in French in 1488 and in English in 1489.

Her literary style was imitated until the Renaissance. She was intimately associated with the court and wrote over 100 poems on courtly love, discussing the underside of sexual desire and tools of seduction. She detested Ovid who wrote the *Art of Seduction*. She later turned to prose producing a wide range of works which included all genres: biography, historical accounts of Charles V, autobiography, poetry, history, novels, short stories, narratives, memoirs, letters and meditations and personal, political, moral, religious and feminist themes.

At a time in history when books were extremely expensive to produce, the manuscripts of her works with their beautiful hand inscribed texts, expensive vellum and gorgeously illustrated illuminations were another indication that she was an author of some reckoning ("Christine de Pizan," 2004). During her lifetime she produced 22 volumes of work concerning religion, politics, philosophy, history, the science of warfare, mythography and literature (Kellogg, 2003).

Prevalent themes appear throughout her works: responsible government and political ethics and philosophy on the wars of her day; women's rights and accomplishments; and religious devotion. She was an outspoken royalist. However, perhaps her most sincere theme was that of defending women. She addressed the lack of education for women, the disappointment women sometimes feel at the birth of a daughter, the accusation that women invite rape, the idea that women can be pretty and enjoy fine clothes without forfeiting their title to chastity, violence in marriage, drunken beatings and spendthrift husbands.

Christine's works were read by many influential women including Marguerite of Austria and Mary of Hungary, two future governors of the Netherlands of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V; Louise of Savoy, regent of France during the minority of Francis I; Anne of Brittany, twice queen of France; and Queen Leorna of Portugal (Wilson, 1984, p. 340). In the book, *The City of Women*, her most famous book, she defends women using the popular medieval genre of allegory. Each biography of a resident in *The City* is a building block used in the construction of an edifice in which women can live safely and peacefully (Kellogg, 2003).

Christine speaks powerfully in favor of women's education. She is mindful of class distinctions dividing women into the merchant or artisan classes and those married to landed barons. Sound, practical and modern advice is given to both. Wives of baronets, for instance, are given some surprisingly modern advice on how to become thoroughly familiar with economics since their husbands are likely to be frequently absent from home ("Christine de Pizan," 2004). She wrote that

Because barons and still more commonly knights and squires and gentlemen travel and go off to wars, their wives should be wise and sound administrators and manage their affairs well, because most of the time they stay at home without their husbands, who are at court or abroad. They should have all the responsibility of the administration and know how to make use of their revenues and possessions. Every lady of such rank (if she is sensible) ought to know how much her annual income is and how much the revenue of her land is worth. This wise lady ought to persuade her husband if she can by kind words and sensible admonitions to agree to discuss their finances together and try to keep to such a standard of living as their income can provide and not so far above it that at the end of the year they find themselves in debt to their own people or other creditors. There is absolutely no shame in living within your income, however small it may be, but there is shame if creditors are always coming to the door to repossess their goods or if they are obliged to make nuisances of themselves to your men or your tenants or if they have to try by hook or by crook to get their payment. (Lawson, 1985, p. 130-137)

Likewise, women from the artisan classes are advised not only to encourage their husbands to work diligently, but to actively involve themselves in the family business. In order to do this, Christine stresses the importance for women to become very knowledgeable in regards to the details of the particular business to which their husbands are attached:

And besides encouraging the others, the wife herself should be involved in the work to the extent that she knows all about it, so that she may know how to oversee his workers if her husband is absent, and to reprove them if they do not do well. She ought to oversee them to keep them from idleness, for through careless workers the master is sometimes ruined. And when customers come to her husband and try to drive a hard bargain, she ought to warn him solicitously to take care that he does not make a bad deal. She should advise him to be chary of giving too much credit if he does not know precisely where and to whom it is going, for in this way many come to poverty, although sometimes the greed to earn more or to accept a tempting proposition makes them to do it. (Lawson, 1985, p. 162-164)

The following is a quote pondering the evil nature of women as stated by famous men from the *City of Women*:

(It)...made me wonder how it happened that so many different men – and learned men among them – have been and are so inclined to express both in speaking and in their treatises and writings so many wicked insults about women and their behavior...Thinking deeply about these matters, I began to examine my character and conduct as a natural woman and, similarly, I considered other women whose company I frequently kept, princesses, great ladies, women of the middle and lower classes...hoping that I could judge impartially and in good conscience whether the testimony of so many notable men could be true. To the best of my knowledge, no matter how long I confronted or dissected the problem, I could not see or realize how their claims could be true when compared to the natural behavior and character of women. Yet I still argued vehemently against women, saying that it would be impossible that so many famous men – such solemn scholars, possessed of such deep and great understanding, so clear-sighted in all things, as it seemed – could have spoken falsely on so many occasions that I could hardly find a book on morals where, even before I had read it in its entirety, I did not find several chapters or certain sections attacking women, no matter who the author was. This reason alone, in short, made me conclude that, although my intellect did not perceive my own great faults and, likewise, those of other women because of its simpleness and ignorance, it was however, truly fitting that such was the case. And so I relied more on the judgment of others than on what I myself felt and knew. (Opening Sections I.I.1 – I.I.2)

I perceive a lot of irony in this paragraph. De Pizan later tells how she comes to believe her own intuitions and feelings about women and thus speaks out to men about the injustice of their ideas.

The last 15 years of her life were spent with her daughter in a Dominican convent at Poissy for safety. She entered when she was 55 years old. Her last work was a vibrant homage to Joan of Arc called *The Words/Hymn of Jean D'Arc (Ditie de Jehanne d'Arc)* in 1429 in which she glorifies this 25 year old girl. She clearly praises Joan as a savior of France and calls for the English to get out of France. This took courage as

many of the English nobles spoke and read French. *Ditie de Jehanne* was written the same year that the English regent, Duke Bedford was calling the *Pucelle* "a disciple and limb of the Fiend" ("Christine de Pizan, 2002). This was the first thing written about Joan during her lifetime.

Due to increased interest in her poetry in the late 1800's, a number of her poetic works and a collection *Euvres poétiques de Christine de Pizan*, were published between 1890 and 1900. More recently, her prose has attracted renewed attention. A number of her prose works, including her autobiography, *Lavision-Christine* (c.1405) have been published and translated since 1965 (Ockerbloom, 2004).

5.0. MARIE LE JARS DE GOURNAY (1565-1645)

Marie was born in Paris, to Guillaume Jars, secretary of the king's chamber. While he lived, finances were good, enabling the family to buy an estate at Gournay in Picardy to which the family retired when he died. She was the eldest of six children. Marie educated herself by an insatiable hunger for reading. Her brothers were sent away to school and were not able to tutor her. This was the customary way for girls to be educated. She taught herself Latin by comparing the original text to its French translation. She became so proficient she made Latin translations all her life. She managed to find someone to teach her Greek (Skemp & Miller, 2004, p. 30). Therefore, she read ancient as well as modern writers and became devoted to the poetry of Ronsard and others of the Pléiade.

At 19 she read the recently published second edition of Montaigne's *Essais*. She was profoundly touched by this work. In Montaigne she found the father and teacher she needed. Her own father had died when she was 12. The family had left Paris and moved to their estate Gournay-sur-Aronde in Picardy (Ilsley, 1963, pp. 299-317).

At twenty-three Marie went to Paris and met fifty-five year old Montaigne. He later came to Picardy for about two months. Gournay was able to spend some time with him. Both apparently came to consider her as a kind of daughter by adoption, his "fille d'alliance" (Ilsley, 1963, p. 2). It connotes, however, a relationship of the mind between equals. Montaigne considered her thus. Some have considered this relationship as an erotic attraction to Montaigne. Cholakian does not see erotic desire but the determination to use Montaigne's name to gain recognition in the literary world (1996, pp. 145-158).

Gournay continued her studies and began to correspond with scholars abroad. She sent a short novel on which she had been working to Montaigne. Then in 1591, her mother died, leaving her as the eldest child with the responsibility to educate her two brothers and organize the marriage of her sister. Over the next few years most of her time and most of the family's wealth was spent on fulfilling these obligations (Ilsley, 1963, p. 3).

In 1593, Gournay heard of Montaigne's death of almost a year earlier. She received from his widow his notes for a new edition of his *Essais* entrusted to her for publication. While preparing the *Essais* she published in 1594 *M. de Montaigne's Walkway, by his adoptive daughter (Le Proumenoir de M. de Montaigne, par sa fille d'alliance)* or *The Promenade of M. de Montaigne* which was a result of her consultations with Montaigne at her home in Gournay-sur-Aronde. In the next year, she published the new edition of the *Essais* introducing them with a lengthy Preface. Over the next 40 years, Gournay would produce seven more editions of the *Essais*, with various versions of her own *Préface* (Ilsley, 1963, p. 4). Without de Gournay, it is possible the *Essais* of Montaigne may have been forgotten today or at least not as well-known?

When at last by the end of 1595, Gournay had settled her brothers and sisters, although short of funds, she was free to travel and live where she liked. By 1699 she had settled permanently in Paris. She frequented the salon of Marguerite de Valois where she met a number of influential court characters and eventual benefactors (Skemp & Miller, 2004, p. 2).

She was part of Paris' literary life but not always an accepted part. She was a single woman without high rank or formal education; she defended the Pléiade poets whom she found much less constrictive while criticizing current poetic theory; she was very outspoken, actively advocating education for women comparable to that of men. Her writing style was frequently aggressive rather than conciliatory (Ilsley, 1963, p. 2).

She always sought patronage and pensions but spent years in near poverty until Richelieu in 1634 gave her a pension which allowed her some comfort for the last 10 years of her life. She died at 80 years of age. In this same year, 1664, she was involved in the foundation of the Académie Française, and so was recognized as a leading literary figure. During her lifetime she was celebrated as one of the "seventy most famous women of all time" in Jean de la Forge's *Circle of Learned Women*, 1663 (Hillman & Quesnel, 2002).

The publication of *Egalite des hommes et les femmes* (*Of the Equality of Men and Women*), spread quickly throughout Europe and *Le Grief des dames* (*Complaint of Women*), which expresses the frustration of not being taken seriously or as an intellectual, are two of her most popular books.

From *Egalite des hommes et les femmes* (*Of the Equality of Men and Women*), de Gournay calls on the authority of the ancient and modern philosophers, as well as the fathers of the Church and scripture. If such men of the past and present recognized the merits of women, any man who does not recognize these must himself lack intelligence.

Elle croit que les femmes et les hommes sont en soi semblables, excepté in matière de réproduction. Les femmes, comme les hommes, ont été faites à l'image de Dieu, et Saint Paul a exclu les femmes de la participation active à l'église parce qu'il craignait que leurs charmes distraient les hommes de leur dévotions a Dieu.

(She believes that women and men are the same, except for reproduction. Women, as men, are made in the image of God. Saint Paul excluded women from active participation in the church because he believed their charms would distract men from their devotions to God. (Hillman & Quesnel, 2002, p. 176)

L'homme et la femme sont intérieurement uns, que si l'homme est plus que la femme, la femme est plus que l'homme" (Man and woman are so much one that if the man is more than the woman, the woman is more than the man.) (Dezon-Jones, 1983, p. 52)

And:

Si l'on croioit que l'Escripture luy commendast de ceder à l'homme, comme indigne de le contrecarrer, voyez l'absurdité qui suivroit: la femme se trouveroit digne d'estre faicte à l'image du Createur, de jouyr de la tressainte Eucaristie, des mystères de la Rédemption, du Paradis et de la vision voire possession de Dieu, non pas des avantages et privileges de l'homme: seroit-ce pas déclarer l'homme plus precieux et relevé que telles choses, et partant commettre le plus grief des blasphèmes ? (Dezon-Jones, 1983, p. 54)

(If one believes that the Scriptures command her to cede to man as unworthy of opposing him, see the absurdity of what follows: The woman is found worthy to be made in the image of the Creator, to partake of the Holy Eucharist, the mysteries of the Redemption, of Paradise and the true vision of God, not partake of the advantages and privileges of man: can one call man more precious and elevated above those things and yet commit the most egregious of blasphemes?)

Again answering writers who prefer women to men she says:

I, who flee from all extremes, content myself with equaling women with men; in this matter, nature is as opposed to superiority as to inferiority...do we find more difference between men and women than between women themselves, according to their education, and whether they have been brought up in a town or a village, or in cosmopolitan environment?...there is nothing that resembles a cat (chat: male cat) on a windowsill more than a female cat (chatte). (Jordan, 1990, pp. 282-283)

In *Le Grief des dames* she speaks of her disappointment in the reception she received by contemporary writers who did not take her seriously as an intellectual. For even if a woman has the eloquence of a Carnéades, a Greek orator, she is dismissed with a smile or shake of the head, or some jest which will have the effect of saying: "a woman speaks" (Hillman & Quesnel, 2002). She speaks against men who refuse to engage women in an intellectual conversation and men who replace reasoning by courtly gestures. She speculates that men who do so mask their fear that women are in effect their intellectual equals (Gournay, Marie le Jars de, 1999).

Rejecting a concept of merit that rules out achievement by women, she argues that both sexes should be evaluated by a single standard (Hillman & Quesnel, 2002, p. 285). She recognizes that her writing has been without a present effect, not because it lacks merit but because—being unseasonable—it has not been given a hearing (Hillman & Quesnel, 2002, p. 286).

Her first autobiographical work was the result of a prank. She was told that James I of England wanted a biographical sketch of her for a collection of texts on famous men and women of the time. She discovered the trick after having sent her manuscript. She was 46 years old. She turned this to her own benefit by using this material in a later edition of complete works, *Les Advis ou les Présens de la Demoiselle de Gournay*, adding a *Peinture de mœurs – A Self Portrait* (1641) thus using a text meant to ridicule her as a statement of whom she is...a woman writer (Skemp & Miller, 2004).

6.0. MARGUERITE de NAVARRE (1492-1549) « Le pur elixir des Valois. »

Marguerite of Navarre was without doubt the prominent literary figure of the early Renaissance. She was born in the year that Columbus discovered America, 1492, and lived in the Loire Valley at Blois and at the Ambroise chateau. She was educated in Latin, Italian, Spanish, Philosophy and Scripture (Skemp & Miller, 2004). She was two years older than her famous brother, François I, King of France. When Louis XII died without children, François became king. He had Marguerite come from Provence to be with him in Paris and to share the responsibilities of the court. He, his mother, Louise de Savoie, and Marguerite were the ruling threesome, the women even managing the kingdom when François was away at war (Kinney, 1989, p. 136). Marguerite was very active in the public life of the royal court and in court politics. Her influence was most strongly demonstrated after the defeat of François I at Pavia where he was taken hostage by Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor. It was Marguerite who went to Spain and negotiated his release (Kinney, 1989, p. 136).

Though twice married, Marguerite had only one child who lived to maturity, Jeanne d'Albret, who made her the grandmother of Henri IV. She corresponded with the most outstanding people of her time. Though a practicing Catholic, she had an enlightened mind and enjoyed discussing evangelism (Darcos, 1992, p. 76). She protected the reformers (Larousse, 1961, p.1522) having strong sympathies for their ideas as well as poets, humanists and innovators. At the death of her brother, and now widowed, she retired to her chateau at Nerac where she received a wide variety of the most refined people of her time including heretics of the state and Protestants.

She was distinguished for her passionate love for literature and the arts, sensitivity, depth and a radiant intelligence (Darcos, 1992, p. 76). No queen (she was the queen of Navarre) received more homage and dedications than she (Darcos, 1992, p. 76). She was an exemplary humanist. Jules Gerlernt writes,

In spite of her political and administrative duties she found time for the reformation of convents and monasteries, the founding of hospitals, the encouragement of artists, writers, and scholars. She sponsored translations, fostered the dissemination of new ideas, and whenever possible intervened when the safety of her protégés (the Reformists) were threatened by the (Catholic) Sorbonne. (Tetel, 1973, p. 3)

Marguerite was both a poet and a writer. Her literary works were vast and varied, including religious works, lyrics, dramas, epigrams and letters. She left many pieces of poetry of which *Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses* is the most known. One of her many spiritual writings, *Le Miroir de l'âme pecheresse*, was condemned by the Sorbonne when it was published in 1531 (Tetel, 1973, p. 3). Her most famous work *The Heptameron*, fashioned after her own circle of learning and Boccaccio's popular story *The Decameron*, took place in seven days ("hepta" in Greek) as compared to ten days of the *Decameron* (deca). She pays tribute to Boccaccio in the prologue. However, Boccaccio's tales tell of passion, concupiscence and adultery where as "Marguerite's tales have a clearly instructive, humanist purpose which immediately set them apart. Her tales—every one of them—are departure points for discussion, debate, and enlightenment" (Kinney, 1989, p. 143). She died at 57 years of age. Her masterpiece was published 10 years after her death.

The Heptameron is one of the most beautiful texts of the Renaissance and de Navarre's masterpiece, "a singular - and memorable - *nouvelle* (Kinney, 1989, p. 135). She criticizes the opposite sex humorously.

According to Marguerite, man is not better than woman. Both of them are nothing before God. *L'Heptameron* is a commentary on the thoughts and customs and morals of the court of her contemporaries. She looks openly at her society which she knows well, where appearances of refinement at court are masked by violent desires and the cruelty of forced love. All the stories of *The Heptameron*, a novella, are written in a comical and satiric style. Some have dark humor as they speak of suicides, rapes, incest, violent and refined passions, etc. Marguerite's innovation in the genre was to expand significantly the frame of the novella, deepening the perspective of the genre and opening up more room for multiple levels of meaning (Skemp & Miller, 2004).

Ten persons of noble descent (five men and five women) of different ages and situations have been at a cure at Cauterets in the Pyrenees. At the moment of departure torrential rains have washed out a bridge forcing them to take refuge in an abbey. They decide to occupy their time telling stories. As in *The Decameron*, love is the subject of the tales from the most comic to the most dark. However, the *Heptameron* is different in that a spirit of evangelism predominates. Each day opens with a reading from the scriptures and a prayer. The debates that follow each story have a moral reflection. Each is carefully evaluated and analyzed. Debates are spirited but are always within the limits of courtesy. These discussions furnish the opportunity to reflect upon the moral and spiritual aspect of life. De Navarre wishes to elevate the idea of marriage according to the Gospels and expose/demystify the trap/snare of courtly love. In courtly love, two irreconcilable codes of honor oppose each other: masculine honor of conquest juxtaposed with (against) feminine honor of chastity. She wishes to expose this "appearance of refinement" (Darcos, 1992, p. 85). This is a philosophical and theological work.

7.0. CONCLUSION

This paper looked briefly at five literate Renaissance women, capable of doing many things like any Renaissance humanist. They were exploring a new social frontier, succeeding in a man's world, doing the things that men did. Given the chance, women, too, could achieve. The chart in Appendix A shows results that are interesting though simple. My first thought was that women without husbands would certainly achieve more. Two women followed this pattern: Christine de Pizan and Marie le Jars de Gournay. I discovered that three of the women achieved while married all their lives: Louise Labé, Christine de Clermont and Marguerite de Navarre. Three of the women had links to Italy which was at its height of learning: Christine de Pizan, Louise Labé and Catherine de Clermont. I think the most significant common denominator is education. All were well educated. Two had fathers who were vitally interested in their education, Christine de Pizan and Louise Labé. Two had mothers who were against their education: Christine de Pizan and Marie le Jars de Gournay. The presence of money cannot be denied either. All had the benefits of money at some time in their lives; their early lives for Marie le Jars de Gournay and Christine de Pizan.

Many other women of the French Renaissance are waiting to be discovered. Perhaps as we broaden the scope of our inquiry their lives will shed light on the reasons for their success.

NOTES

1. Catherine de Clermont is the only woman not mentioned in any of the books or articles researched for this paper except for *La Vie du Cardinal de Retz* by Simone Bertière.
2. Gournay may have had access to Agrippa of Nettesheim's *Of the Nobilkitie and Ecellencie of Womankynde* (1542) an explicitly feminist text to be published in England in the first half of the century. Agrippa asserts:
that men and women differ physically only "in the sondry situation of bodily parts" and spiritually not at all "The woman hathe that same mynd that a man hath, that same reason and speche, she gothe to the same ende of blysfuynes, where shall be no exception of kynde. (Renaissance Women, Constance Jordan, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, p.122 and footnote #55)

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BÜCHNER'S *WOYZECK*: A DECONSTRUCTION OF REASON AND MADNESS

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ABSTRACT

During the Age of Reason, the binary opposition for 'reason/madness' was a theme which implied that reason is superior to madness. In this paper, I render an interpretation of the German play *Woyzeck*, focusing primarily on the deconstruction of the binary opposition 'reason/madness'. Following ideas by post-structuralist thinkers such as Kristeva, Deleuze and Guattari, Cooper and Laing, Bakhtin and Foucault, I first illustrate the possibility that the protagonist's madness can be seen as a resource rather than a defect. Second, I also look at the social context of madness within and without the play, and the social context of the play itself. I conclude that the binary opposition 'reason/madness', when deconstructed, reveals its own inherent inconsistency and instability. Reason and madness are part of the spectrum of the human experience and are not intrinsically at odds.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Woyzeck, a German play written by Georg Büchner in 1837, is a tragedy of a simple, impoverished, mentally aberrant man who, in order to support his mistress Marie (a former prostitute) and their illegitimate child, is forced to carry out numerous bizarre jobs, such as shaving the Captain, cutting sticks for the Captain, and selling his body as a guinea pig for a laboratory experiment done by a Doctor who requires him to live on a diet of peas for six months. When Marie gives in to a Drum-Major's flirt and begins an affair with him, Woyzeck hears voices telling him to stab Marie. He follows the voices and kills her. After the murder, he drowns himself.

In the binary opposition for 'reason/madness', reason is common sense and is assumed to be superior to madness. It is this assumption that is called into question.

Rivkin and Ryan¹ noted that Western society, in its process of rationalizing and normalizing the world, constructed an ideal of Reason and relegated 'madness' as the "outside that could never be inside because its negativity allowed the positivity of the inside to define itself" (1998, p. 338). The two characters in *Woyzeck*, the Captain and the Doctor, who are major figures of Woyzeck's social context, are blind participants and thereby victims of such construction. Riding the wave of Western rational normality, the Captain is deeply rooted in his ideology of morality, and the Doctor is obsessed with his scientific experimentations. They strive, at the cost of giving up their individuality, to become good citizens in order to demonstrate their 'reason'. At the same time, in order to elevate themselves to the pedestal of almighty 'Reason', they need a scapegoat who bears the stigma of madness to gain a contrast and thereby appear 'normal'.

However, what gives them the right to claim that they are normal? And given that Woyzeck is mad, on what legitimate ground is his madness automatically labeled as pathological? Post-structuralist anti-psychiatry thinkers Cooper and Laing (in R&R, 1998) reconceived schizophrenia positively as "providing access to potentially higher or more complex modes of cognition" (p. 337). They argue that normality is itself pathological.

2.0. WOYZECK'S MADNESS IS A RESOURCE

Madness far exceeds the grasp of scientific definition. Madness is a characteristic of the inspiration associated with great art or literature, and often obfuscating, difficult art. Woyzeck reveals traces of artistic inclination: "A fire! A fire there! It rises from earth into heaven, and with a tumult falling, just like the trumpets" (Scene 2: An open field). The way he experiences the sunset is not much different than that of an expressionist painter like Van Gogh. Woyzeck associates light with "black cats with eyes of fire" (Scene 5: Booths). His higher perception is piercing. His artistic creativity helps him push the boundaries of identity shaped by the social grid and frees him from the conventional reality accepted by the masses. Freud's view is that schizophrenia is a state where the conscious breaks down altogether and the unconscious is expressed directly.

Freud felt schizophrenia could not be treated by psychoanalysis² and condemned the comparison of schizophrenic's inspiration to that of philosophers as undesirable. *Woyzeck* is a philosopher and a visionary. He bears signs of a great mind:

Doctor, have you ever come across anything about double Nature? When the sun's right above us at midday and it feels like the world's going to burn up...
It's all in the toadstools, Doctor. Have you ever noticed the patterns in which toadstools grow? If we could only figure them out! (Scene 7: At the doctor's)

In his hallucination, *Woyzeck* also experiences the end of the world: "How light it is! The whole town looks like it's glowing! There's fire in the sky and a sound like trombones coming down" (Scene 2: An open field). This is an example of the raw, unfiltered, pre-linguistic perception referred to by Kristeva (1998) as semiotic, pre-linguistic, rhythmic, nourishing and maternal. The schizophrenic experiences a certain *jouissance* from the flow of the chora, the instinctual drive, overdetermination, and the semiotic qualities of experience.

The essential operation dominating the space of the subject in process / on trial, and to which schizophrenia bears painful testimony, is that of the appending of territories - corporeal, natural, social - invested by drives. It involves combination: fitting together, detaching, including, and building up "part" into some kind of "totality." These parts may be forms, colors, sounds, organs, words, etc., so long as they have been invested with a drive and, to begin with, represent only that drive. (R & R, 1998, p. 458)

Hence, the schizophrenic's discourse has a subversive force and underlying similarities with Kristeva's concept of revolutionary language of poetry and art. *Woyzeck* experiences his insanity in hallucinations. He is seared by sounds and colors of appalling intensity and plagued by voices. However, at the same time, he is able to perform his work as any other normal person. It seems that *Woyzeck*'s state has an equilibrium of the semiotic and the symbolic which, according to Kristeva, is desirable for social discourse and signifying practice. His prophesizing the end of the world is a signifying practice with revolutionary potential.

The tragic pinnacle of the play, *Woyzeck*'s murder of Maria and his suicide, can be interpreted as a manic outburst coming from the superfluous chora that bears a "destructive wave" (Kristeva, 1998, p. 455). When his optic and acoustic hallucinations set out to break the boundary, he is not aware anymore of his homicidal rage. Hence he experienced his murderous act as an order coming from the outside. "Ha! What? What's that you say? Louder! Louder! ... I hear it everywhere, always: stab, stab, stab her dead!" (Scene 13: An open field). *Woyzeck* acts by instinct rather than reason. His thought process has an intense and rapid pace.

I'm going. There's a great many things possible. That's the way man is! There's a many things possible.
--- It's nice weather, Captain. See, such a nice, solid, gray sky; it's enough to make one feel like ramming a piece of wood into it and hanging oneself on it -- all because of that little gap between a Yes and another Yes - or a No. Both Yes and No, Captain? Is the Yes the No's fault, or is the No the Yes's fault? I'll have to think about that. (Scene 9: A street)

His bizarre, at times incoherent, means of expression is due to him not fully entering the realm of speech and language of the Symbolic Order. According to Lacan, the symbolic language assigns "social roles and dictates proper behavior in society"³ (as cited in R & R, 1998, p. 124). The schizophrenic, often operating outside the Symbolic Order, has easier access to sublimation, a wider outlet back to the Imaginary. For *Woyzeck*, signification is messed up and he by-passes the language order of the signifier and the signified, which in turn is very beneficial as it allows free play and unconscious heterogeneity. Considered from the perspective of Freud's theory of dream analysis, it can be said that *Woyzeck* fluctuates between the latent and the manifest, and his semiotic capacity allows him to burst the censorship and entirely delve into the latent, the irrational logic of the world of dreams, a realm of its own. Beneath the grass of the field *Woyzeck* hears the sinister rumor of a separate life. The schizophrenic expresses his free will without censorship. He has more power in his own realm as opposed to those who dwell in the Symbolic Order where all physical, mental and spiritual activities are permeated by extraneous, foreign will. The schizophrenic's reality is hence a pastiche which does not fit into the conventional, Oedipal reality. Kristeva (1998) associates the symbolic with the Oedipalized realm, regulated by the Law of the Father, and the semiotic with the pre-Oedipal.

Deleuze and Guattari, anti-Freudians, argued against the Oedipus complex as it gives a rather negative account of desire “as originating in absence of lack (of access to the forbidden mother)” (as cited in R & R, 1998, p. 345). Deleuze and Guattari came up with a more “positive concept of desire as a productive activity,” not very much different from Nietzsche's Will to Power, and a positive extension of Freud's Libido. The schizophrenic⁴ is a ‘desiring machine’, a flow, an energy-source-machine, or as Rivkin and Ryan put it, s/he is “a model for a subject who refuses the imposition of a certain ‘reality’ and instead pursues his/her own desire production to its limits” (1998, p. 125). Woyzeck's savage energy, his desires (the desire to work, to love, to gaze, to kill, etc.) are those of a desiring machine: uninhibited, freely playing, and centered on lines of flight. Deleuze and Guattari go a step further and ask whether these desiring machines (the schizophrenics) “constitute the Real in itself, beyond or beneath the Symbolic *as well as* [emphasis mine] the Imaginary” (R & R, 1998, p. 212). This implies that Deleuze and Guattari go even beyond Lacan with their clever hypothesis of a new realm (the Real). The schizophrenic realm is thus the realm where real freedom and individuality exist and can be expressed. Here primal truths shatter the reality constituted by the Oedipal myth and capitalism. Deleuze and Guattara imply that the Oedipus Complex territorializes the multiplicity of desire and capitalism deterritorializes but also re-territorializes⁵ desire. Schizophrenia “represents the repressed underside of capitalist normality, the energy and productive potential that it must constrain in order to fabricate useful citizens and productive workers” (R & R, 1998, p. 346). Consequently, the schizophrenic desiring energy implies a pushing further of capitalist deterritorializing process so that all desiring machines can float freely. This is very utopic but shows, however, what schizophrenia is capable of.

Woyzeck's world is similar to the world of Rabelais (Bakhtin, 1998, p. 45-51), where carnival creates a distinctive mode of carnivalesque laughter based on the subversion of class hierarchies, where figures of authority could be mocked, while a fool was crowned and allowed to reign, where everything is debased and degraded so it could be reborn (grotesque realism), and the most important regeneration was that of truth. The barker's words resonate with Bakhtin's grotesque realism: “Man, be natural! You have been created out of dust and sand and dirt. Would you be more than dust and sand and dirt?” (Scene 5: Booths).

The animal imagery throughout the play reveals a systematic debasement and dehumanization of a fool to the animalistic level. (Woyzeck is compared to a beast, a cat, a dog, a donkey, etc.). Nevertheless, one should recognize that the animality in the madman represents his own simple, natural truth on which all lives are built. Man is so proud of his reason he has forgotten that he is, in essence, an animal. The Captain and the Doctor are out of touch with human essence and live in an unnatural episteme frozen by reason, dead laws and order, a set of constraints and limitations that are imposed on potential, productive discourses of the madman. Foucault (1965) wrote of “the secret danger of an animality that lies in wait and, all at once, undoes reason in violence and truth in the madman's frenzy” (p. 77). Out of fear of the savage danger of the madman, reason and determinism of man have to come up with forms of constraint, punishment, or discipline to restrain his impulses.

3.0. WOYZECK'S SOCIAL CONTEXT

In *Woyzeck*, the Captain and the Doctor, with their values of virtue, reason, morality, self-control, and freedom of will, represent the so-called bourgeoisie ‘honnêtes gens’ of normal, civilized life, who society claims to be men of higher privilege. Nevertheless, their behaviors are far from what one could call reasonable. How normal are they?

The Captain is stuck in ideological system of pseudo-morality, order, and structure. His blind, ridiculous, and ritualistic adherence to conventions makes him a monomaniac, a fool. He could be diagnosed as having OCD for his exaggerated, structured, anal character.⁶ Every movement, every moment must follow a regulated course. All actions must make the fullest use of time. Left-over time depresses him.

Slowly, Woyzeck, slowly; one thing at a time! You're making me quite dizzy. What am I supposed to do with the ten minutes you save me by finishing earlier today? ... Stop a bit, Woyzeck! Your rush through the world like an open straight razor - everyone cuts himself on you. (Scene 1: At the Captain's)

The Captain is the one who lives in fear and trepidation, paranoid by a madman's nervous movements and dreaded by the callings of virtue and morality. He uses morality to attack Woyzeck, but contradicts himself as he

does not know at all how to reason with morality. He accuses Woyzeck of being immoral for having a child "without the blessing of the Church" (Scene 1: at the Captain's), but he contradicts himself:

You're a good man, Woyzeck, but ... you're not a moral man, Woyzeck! Morality - that's when you're moral, you understand. It's a good word. ...
Flesh and blood? When I look out of the window after it's been raining and peek at the white stockings of the girls as they hop across the street - dammit Woyzeck, that's when I feel love! I'm flesh and blood too. But virtue, virtue, Woyzeck! Virtue! How could I live without that? I always say to myself: You're a virtuous man, ... a good man, a good man (Scene 1: at the Captain's).

The irritable contradiction of his argument (the difference between good and moral) is only a superficial facade for the real issue. It is not a question of morality but socially acceptable behavior, repressing sexuality and locking it up in the institution of marriage. Virtue to the Captain is the repression of his sexual lust. This restraint and moral control of behavior represents an internalized version of the overt physical punishment and repression practiced during the Classical Period; it is Freud's superego, the internalized parent. But the morality of a mad person operates on a different level. He sees morality not in a marriage institution, but in his love for Marie and his willingness to support her and his child.

The Doctor, the ivory tower scientist, operates within a pseudoscientific ideology with the fixed idea to study disease which he induces but has no intention to treat. In his use of Woyzeck as a human guinea pig for his laboratory experiment, the Doctor is a lunatic and a criminal himself. His sadism, cynicism, delight in the macabre is anything but normal. The scientific movement has interpolated him so that he becomes incapable of treating Woyzeck with true compassion. His behavior is constrained by Reason, constantly under the surveillance of the Panoptic gaze: "I'm in a hurry, Captain, in a hurry!" (Scene 9: A street). Blinded by the obsession with abstract, insignificant hypotheses, the idea of astounding the medical world, the greed for fame and the presupposition of his superiority over others, the Doctor represents a symbol of a cold, dehumanized, and unapproachable institution of which Woyzeck is a victim. He embodies the medical field as an organized branch of knowledge, of discipline, exploitation and oppression.

4.0. SOCIAL CONTEXT OF MADNESS WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE PLAY

During the 19th century, madness became an area of psychiatric inquiry and the medical profession rapidly gained recognition and social status. According to Crighton (1998, p. 211), forensic psychiatry emerged to fill the need for scientifically acceptable psychiatric analysis admissible in courts of law. There was an increase in language materialism, new medical terminology and classification systems. So during Buchner's time, identification and classification of mental illnesses was a trend and offered a pathway to fame and power. Thus the Doctor sees Woyzeck's mental aberration as an interesting phenomenon for his experimentation:

Woyzeck, you've got a wonderful example of a mentalis partialis aberration of the second class. I'll give you a raise, Woyzeck! Aberration second class: *idee fixe*⁷ with all aspects perfectly normal. (Scene 7: At the doctor)

In *Madness and Civilization* (1965), Foucault wrote about the history of madness. People classified as 'mad' were treated differently during the classical age. At first they were embarked on 'Ships of Fools,' then were put into 'houses of correction' or 'hopitaux generaux' (the Great Confinement). In the late 18th century, the houses of confinement, due to their failures, were abolished and mad people were no longer confined but allowed to work (the Birth of the Asylum). The protagonist, Woyzeck, lived during this period of 'the Birth of the Asylum'. The social context of madness in the early 19th century, according to Foucault (1965), involves institutionalization (the Great Confinement) and the period of liberation and abolition of constraint (the Birth of the Asylum).

...fear no longer reigned on the other side of the prison gates, it now raged under the seals of conscience. ... The asylum no longer punished the madman's guilt, it is true; but it did more, it organized that guilt... by this guilt the madman became an object of punishment always vulnerable to himself and to the Other... (p. 247)

Replacing external violence with an internalized conscience aims at transforming the insane's consciousness and forces him to "feel morally responsible for everything within him that may disturb morality and society" (Foucault, 1965, p. 246). Neither physical nor mental confinement are fair treatments of the mad. Liberated from the constraints of the Great Confinement, the madman's fear does not cease at the hands of the privileged class, the whirl of 'anonymous', predatory figures who dehumanize him and perpetuate his demented, morbid state, people who chide his inferiority and unworthiness. The Doctor and the Captain's relentless scorn and disparagement devalue and shatter his most cherished sensations and visions, his schizophrenic discourse:

CAPTAIN: ... You're a good man, a good man. But you think too much, and that wears you out...
(Scene 1: At the Captain's)

DOCTOR: Woyzeck, you're philosophizing again
(Scene 7: At the doctor's)

The Doctor and the Captain, although seemingly free and autonomous members of the society, are imbued with an ideology which penetrates into their common sense and everyday practice. Their ideologies become instruments used to exercise power on the mad Woyzeck. Woyzeck, however, finds outlets in his visions, hallucinations, and artistic creativity (his semiotic qualities) which allow him to penetrate and deflate the masked, centered, universal makings of their 'Reason'. Woyzeck, the mad person, is the so-called 'bad subject' (Althusser's, 1998) who sees through the distortions imposed by their ideologies. His 'schizophrenic ideology' allows him to step outside the ideological consciousness, demystifying ideology with his raw, unfiltered semiotic perceptions. He is therefore an 'I' who does not respond to interpellation, who is in constant slippage and ideological struggle.

At the same time, the marginalization of Woyzeck's madness empowers him with the desire and the drive to subvert. His schizophrenic discourse is a struggle at the very core of the power matrix. Thus it is a form of resistance rather than escape! Büchner once asked "What is it that makes people lie, steal, and kill?" and this is a key concern in this play. Woyzeck's murder and suicide represent a drive towards liberation, a transgressive, yet revolutionary drive directed against the hegemony of the system. Murdering Marie is not based on jealousy, but an act of rescue and devictimization. He knows they both are trapped within the Symbolic Order, and has an urge to 'leak' out of it. Since Woyzeck neither comprehends nor accepts the social reality, he is in conflict with his environment, experiences alienation, animosity and contradictions at all levels of communications and of daily undertakings. Thus the murder and suicide can be seen as a sacrificial yet victorious act against the tyranny of the oppressed class, the insane. Woyzeck represents an icon of the anti-hero, disappointing and mocking the conventional expectation of an audience brainwashed by the cliché image of a hero.

5.0. SOCIAL CONTEXT OR RECEPTION OF THE PLAY

In order to sympathize with *Woyzeck* the audience requires a 'desire-liberating' mind to understand the revolutionary purpose of the play. The question remains whether Büchner is a madman himself writing about a madman, or a sane person expressing sympathy with abnormal states of mind and appreciation for the significance of the schizophrenics. Some critics, however, claimed Büchner as a playwright is exploiting *Woyzeck* as he fuses the objective precision of medical research in his drama. Büchner himself was a medical student whose doctoral dissertation was in the field of comparative anatomy. I do not agree. Büchner's play is both a self-polemic and a satire of the medical field and the state of psychology in the 1820s. The Doctor is a caricature of Büchner's professor of anatomy, 'le bête-noir' at Giessen University. It is also a parodic and transgressive rendering of 'the birth of the asylum', challenging the ideology of morality and transparently reprimanding the scientific discourse.

The reason why *Woyzeck* remained dormant during the 19th century is because the self-evident binary opposition 'reason/madness' was never deconstructed during that time. *Woyzeck* exists as a fragmentary script as it was never finished by Büchner (he died of typhus at the age of 23). It was first published as a play in 1879 and adapted into an opera by the composer Alban Berg in 1913. The public responded negatively to Büchner's play as it challenged the ideology and discourses of medical and other science during that time. The masses were unable to conceive *Woyzeck* as an avant-garde play, a model of deconstruction prefiguring a social revolution. Instead, the masses were led to believe that Büchner merely drew an extreme caricature of the so-called

'honnetes gens' to hypothesize that madness is valuable, and that authors of anti-scientific literature do not understand scientific matters. Not until the early 20th century did the play fully gain general acceptance when it was performed as an opera in the 1920's.⁸ However, shortly after *Woyzeck* became widely accepted in the 1930's, a medical fascination with *Woyzeck* emerged. Modern doctors and psychiatrists started to render psycho-medical readings of this play. This is clearly an example of how the working apparatus (the medical field) has reclaimed a literary work with a subversive content as a case study of instructional value beneficial to the medical field.

6.0. CONCLUSION

The cogency of this play lies in the fact that the problems it describes are universal. Although written 167 years ago, it still mirrors contemporary reality, portraying the very unnoticed surface of discursive formations and linkages between reason, power, institutions and Ideological State Apparatuses. Foucault (1989) pointed out in his interview that the treatment of the insane during the Age of Reason, the establishment of medical science at early 19th century and other discourses reflect "ways of thinking and behaving that are still with us" (p. 63). A closer post-structuralist look at 'madness', the discredited, denied and neglected side of the binary opposition, uncovers repressed and abused potentials of the madness and its treatment by society. The binary opposition 'reason/madness' hence, when deconstructed, reveals its own inherent inconsistency and instability. Reason and madness are part of the spectrum of the human experience and are not intrinsically at odds. The binary opposition that puts reason and madness into conflicting spheres denies aspects of human perception which add range and depth to the human experience.

NOTES

1. Abbreviated as R & R in later citations.
2. Refer to Olsen, O. & Koppe, S. (1998). *Freud's Theory of Psychoanalysis*, IV.A.4. New York: New York University Press for further information on psychoses and schizophrenia.
3. Lacan compares the linguistic separation once one enters the Symbolic Order with Saussure's algorithm S/s: the signified is made absent by the signifier and is always beneath the bar.
4. Here they are addressing active schizophrenia and not medical schizophrenia.
5. Territorialize = reduce, code; deterritorialize = increase, decode.
6. Cf. Crighton (1998, p.120), for further information on the earliest classifications and terminologies of schizophrenic illnesses.
7. Cf. *Wozzeck / Alban Berg, English National Opera 42*, edited by Nicholas John. (1990). London: John Calder.

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IV. Linguistics

THE IMPACT OF LANGUAGE COLONIALISM ON THE LEGAL SYSTEM IN HONG KONG

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1.0. INTRODUCTION

Ever since the British acquired the territory of Hong Kong, English has been the ruling language, representing the authority and power of the British until the changeover in 1997. But the majority of the population has long been ethnic Chinese. By the end of 2002, the population of Hong Kong reached 6.82 million (Agence France-Presse, 2003) while the total surface area of Hong Kong is 1070 ca. square kilometers. In such a dense, small city, 98% of the population is ethnic Chinese with 88% of the population speaking Cantonese as their first language. Though 38% of the population is capable of speaking English, only 3% have that language as their first language. And since the changeover in 1997 and the business events between Hong Kong and Mainland China, there are 1 to 2% of the population for whom Mandarin is their first language (University of Hong Kong, 2000). There are still speakers of many other minority languages such as Chiu Chau, Hakka, Fukien, Shanghainese and some other South East Asian languages, but no more than 2% of the population are first language speakers for each language group. It is noted that all these Chinese dialects are very different from each other in terms of their syntactic structures, expressions and phonetic/phonological systems. They are almost unintelligible to each other in conversation though they share the same writing system.

Since a majority of the population is ethnic Chinese while the ruling language is English, there has been a long debate about language use in society, including discussion about language policy, the education system, the legal system, the government legislation and tourism. This is an inevitable situation in colonization. When the people in Hong Kong began to expect the political shift from British colonization to sovereignty in China, they wondered what would happen in terms of language use. A number of proposals on language policy were attempted before 1997. These language policies directly and indirectly affected the structure of education policy, the government, the society, as well as the shape of the legal system.

In this paper, Hong Kong will be taken as a case study to discuss how the language situation and language policy can affect the legal system in a country or region. Before going into that discussion however, we have to look at the language policy and language situation of the city first.

2.0. LANGUAGE POLICY IN HONG KONG

2.1. Under British Colonial Rule

Hong Kong was a British colony from 1842 until June 30, 1997 (Cheung, 1997, p. 50). After the British took over Hong Kong, English became the ruling language and the only official language until 1974. In 1974, Chinese was made a co-official language by the Official Languages Ordinance. After the changeover in July 1997, the Basic Law stipulates that English may be used in official contexts "in addition to Chinese" (Benson, 1997, p. 7).

These political changes led to some major changes in Hong Kong's education system between the 1950s and 1990s. There was a realignment of the medium of instruction, and the introduction of mixed-code teaching into English medium instruction (Johnson, 1998, p. 265-267).

2.2. Medium Of Instruction

In the 1950s, students would receive education either through English or through the Chinese-medium stream, with the two streams reasonably evenly balanced in terms of numbers. However, during the period of education expansion, the two-stream system changed to a single line of progression, with a change in medium halfway through. Later, primary education was dominated by Chinese while secondary education was dominated by English. By 1980, English-medium accounted for less than 10% of primary schools while Chinese-medium accounted for less than 10% of secondary schools. In 1986 the government made an official policy to encourage secondary schools to adopt the Chinese-medium, but with the proviso that individual school authorities could decide on the medium of instruction. This proviso actually made the policy fail since most people preferred English to Chinese as a medium of instruction in secondary schools. Thus, in 1997, at the time

of the changeover, there were only 77 out of 402 secondary schools that were fully Chinese-medium (Benson, 1997, p. 12). Approximately 90% of students were switching from a Chinese medium at the primary level to an English medium at the secondary level.

In fact, the colonial HK (Hong Kong) government tended to pursue a *laissez-faire* policy on the medium of instruction, a policy which favored the English-medium as education became closely associated with entry into the English-knowing elite (Benson, 1997). This policy gave parents the 'freedom of choice' to send their children to either Chinese-medium or English-medium schools. However, a majority of the parents preferred English-medium to Chinese-medium schools because English was considered an entry into the power of the English-knowing elite and also because legislating took place in English, making English the prestigious, dominant official language (Benson, 1997, p. 10). Parents wished that their children could climb to the top of the social ladder with the elite language, English.

2.3. Mixed Code Teaching In Secondary Schools

Even though most secondary schools adopted the English-medium, they are not all fully English-speaking. By the early 1980s, most English-medium secondary schools involved switching between Cantonese and English. During the 1980s, reliance on teaching through Cantonese and mixed code increased (Johnson, 1998, p. 265-267). This happened because Cantonese was the mother tongue of the majority of students, while all textbooks were printed in English. Therefore students had to acquire different terminology in English for different subjects. However, most teachers found that students understood better in Cantonese than in English. It is considered easier to reserve the English terminology for Science and Mathematics while Cantonese is used to better explain concepts and theories to students. This resulted in mixed code teaching (Cantonese conversation with English terminology inserted).

3.0. INTRODUCTION OF MANDARIN IN LANGUAGE POLICY

Apart from the spoken medium of instruction in Hong Kong, the Chinese used in textbooks for Chinese subjects or other subjects in Chinese-medium schools is called modern Standard Written Chinese (SWC). As mentioned at the beginning, Mandarin is very different from Cantonese. The syntactic structure of SWC is more similar to spoken Mandarin than to Cantonese. Spoken Cantonese is very different from the written Chinese used in textbooks, exams or other written documents. For Cantonese speakers, learning how to write SWC is more or less the same as learning another language which is different from daily conversation. This actually places a bigger linguistic burden on students when handling the written Chinese, especially when there are many Cantonese terms that cannot be accepted by the writing systems (Harrison & So, 1997, p. 14). So it was proposed that learning Mandarin could help students to master Chinese writing better, and they could be more competitive by knowing Mandarin at the same time, as Mandarin was realized as internationally more useful due to the rise of China.

However, there is much resistance between the use of Cantonese versus Mandarin. Since Cantonese spoken in Hong Kong is not just a means of communication, but also a carrier of culture (Thiong'o, 1986) and a language to identify the people there as "Hong Kong people"—the "Hong Kong pride" (World Info Zone, 2003)—people in Hong Kong resist taking Mandarin as their primary language, though many people admit that Mandarin is more useful than Cantonese worldwide. Mandarin will always be an extra linguistic burden on Hong Kong Cantonese speakers.

It is already hard enough for the students when they are already burdened by two spoken languages, Cantonese and English, and two writing systems, SWC and English. Now they have to face more linguistic challenges because of the changeover in 1997 and the introduction of Mandarin. Since Mandarin is not accepted as the first language for Hong Kong people, the colonial government tried to implement Mandarin as an optional subject or extra-curricular subject from the primary level before the changeover (Leung & Wong, 1997, p. 35). Since it was not yet compulsory, not many students were obliged to acquire Mandarin at schools. As time went by, the political status and the commercial power of China increased, and there was a continuous influx of Chinese businessmen and Chinese immigrants into Hong Kong as 1997 got closer and closer (Leung & Wong, 1997, p. 38). Since then, people in Hong Kong recognized the need for knowing Mandarin, and Mandarin became a powerful language in education and politics in Hong Kong. In preparation for the government after the changeover, the Education Department provided training in Mandarin to teachers

beginning in 1986 (Leung & Wong, 1997, p. 39). After the changeover, all teachers not only had to pass the English Proficiency test, but also the Mandarin Proficiency test. The new government also gradually introduced Mandarin as a compulsory subject from the primary levels. Although Mandarin has not been made one of the official languages, it has become a more necessary language as it has received more prestige than Cantonese because Mandarin is the official language of China. Now, both Mandarin and English are considered as keys to success. Cantonese is not likely to become a prestigious language, though it is spoken and used the most in the territory.

3.1. Vigor Of Cantonese

Cantonese speakers in Hong Kong were the majority of the population in the city before the changeover, but they in return became the minority compared with the Chinese government in Beijing after the changeover. When Hong Kong was under British control, Cantonese had a lower status as the language of “the minority” because of British dominance. Since the changeover, Cantonese has still been at low status because of its minority status compared with the number of Mandarin speakers in the Mainland territory. From the time of colonization until now, the vigor of Cantonese has not always been encouraged (Benson, 1997, p. 13). Many people even have the concept that Mandarin is the standard, official version of Chinese while Cantonese is just an unimportant, unhelpful dialect in politics, business and education (Wright, 1997, p. 4). Is it a sign of oppression to the Cantonese speakers in Hong Kong? Is it injustice? These will be further discussed in this paper.

3.2. Language Situation After the Changeover

As Mandarin evolved into a more powerful position politically and became official after the changeover, the language situation became more complicated. English had lost its political ascendancy but retained the advantages of being the lingua franca of much international commerce (Chen, 1985, p. 23). Thus, all the statutes, papers, reports, etc. have English as the original and primary version. Translations into Chinese are provided, but it is definitely not required for all legislation events.

However, since the majority of the population speaks Cantonese and many of them are not proficient enough in English to understand the law, the Hong Kong government realized the need for using Chinese in the legal system. Chinese was already promoted as another official language in the government structure and the legal system in 1974 when the Official Languages Ordinance was enacted and implemented; by Section 3 (1), “the English and Chinese languages are declared to be the official languages of Hong Kong for the purposes of communication between the government or any public officer and members of the public” (Chen, 1985, p.22). Afterwards, government reports, speeches and papers were available in both English and Chinese. Simultaneous interpretation services were provided in government conferences or meetings. However, the promotion of Chinese for legal purposes was not quite successful in actual government use. English was still highly preferred in the legal system. Section 5 of the Official Languages Ordinance stated that the proceedings in the Court of Appeal, the High Court, the District Court and any other ‘court’ not specified in the schedule must be conducted in English. However, the proceedings in any lower courts specified in the schedule could be conducted in either Chinese or English according to which the court thought fit.

3.3. After 1997

As stated in the Sino-British joint declaration signed on the issue of Hong Kong in 1984, Hong Kong would return to be under the sovereignty of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) from July 1, 1997 onwards. The Hong Kong British Dependent Territory became the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR). Since then, the language situation has changed. The joint declaration stated that in addition to Chinese, English might be used in organs of government and the courts in HKSAR (Chen, 1985, p. 19). This implies the attempt to promote and elevate Chinese as the dominant official language after the changeover. Chinese would not be excluded in the legal system. In other words, the importance of the use of Chinese was emphasized in the legal system and government.

The Basic Law, which became Hong Kong’s constitution, states that “in addition to the Chinese language, English may also be used as an official language by the executive authorities, legislature and judiciary of the HKSAR (Article 9)” (Chen, 1985). From what was previously discussed, it seemed that there was progress in elevating the use of Chinese for legal purposes; however, in Article 9, there is still an implication that the English language has additional reassurance for its survival as an official language. In addition, because

of the prolonged practice of predominantly English use in law courts, implementing Chinese as the dominant language in the legal system is not as easy as it is stated in the document. That is why the promotion for Chinese use for legal purposes still lagged far behind the promotion for government purposes (Wright, 1997).

3.4. Power Of English Language In Legal System

In mentioning the power from English language use, it is noted that there has been a distinction between higher and lower courts. The different treatment in higher courts and lower courts stated in Section 5, which was mentioned before, is based on the belief that higher courts have to deal with legal points calling for the support of legal authorities while lower courts are more concerned with factual arguments. This confirms the superiority of the English language. When the law is clothed in English as in the higher courts, it has 'persuasive-rhetorical force.' Chinese can be understood in lower courts, but it is reduced to a mere 'performative force' for basic communication. It loses its authoritative backing. Most probably, this unseen power imbalance between English and Chinese (Cantonese) is from the imbalanced status of the two languages, which resulted from, or was inherited from, the language policy mentioned at the beginning of this paper.

There is a lot to be taken into account when two languages and two systems run at the same time in HKSAR. Instead of eliminating communication problems between the public and the legal authority, the present legal system leads to many shortcomings.

3.5. Problems In Legal System Of HKSAR

Though not everyone knows all of the law, justice requires that everyone has a reasonable opportunity to find out that law (Wesley-Smith, 1998, p. 117). When Hong Kong was under British rule, legislation was mainly drafted in English, but many ethnic Chinese are not proficient enough to be able to understand the law.

Meanwhile, as mentioned before, Hong Kong has retained the common law after the changeover in 1997. That means the language in which it is expressed is also retained and the language used is mainly English. Nevertheless, it is interesting that from the time when Hong Kong was a British colony until now when it is under Chinese sovereignty, most trials in Hong Kong have still been conducted or published in English. And it is even more revealing that the Official Languages Ordinance, which made Chinese an official language, is in English.

Though it is true that all legislation is already written in both English and Chinese, and legal work is already carried out in both languages, the Chinese version is actually a translated one. And the Chinese version is not original, and is not even a full version sometimes. In one case, *R v. Tse Kim-ho & Anors* (Cheung, 1997, p. 58), the two defendants were charged with traffic offences. Each was served with notices and summons printed in both English and Chinese as requested. The English version contained full information while the Chinese version lacked certain factual allegations and information on the nature of the offense. In this case, the defendants were not able to detect the discrepancy as they were not proficient enough in English. So they could not be wholly informed and they might have been deprived of certain of their rights because of the lack of information. This violated article 11 (2) of the Bill of Rights which states that "In the determination of any criminal charge against him, everyone shall be entitled to the following minimum guarantees, in full equity- (a) to be informed promptly and in detail in a language which he understands of the nature and cause of the charge against him" (Cheung, 1997). The discrepancy between the English and Chinese summons might entail the risk of misinformation and consequent confusion. This could easily lead to resentment and cynical distrust of the legal system. At the same time, this can also lead to injustice if the client does not have enough proficiency in the English language. It seems that the legal system in HKSAR serves as an "elite justice".

This might lead people to conclude that the law in HKSAR should therefore be practiced in Chinese, in order to eliminate the problem mentioned above, and legal proceedings should be conducted in Chinese, too. However, the problem arose in the case of *R v. Tse Kim-ho & Anors* not only because of the availability of Chinese in the legal system, but also because of the lack of Chinese proficient legal officers. The translation discrepancy happens mainly because of a lack of proficiency in Chinese among the lawyers and legal officers. Even though the lawyer, or the officer is a native Chinese speaking person, he/she may not be able to write Chinese proficiently due to the fact that English is the medium in academics, especially in legal studies (Lee, 1997, p. 52). Though the lawyers, who are ethnic Chinese, are able to speak fluently in Cantonese, they would

not be able to perform well in Cantonese in the law courts since the training they have received in school was in English. The English language became the armor for the lawyers in the courts.

From the cases recorded after the changeover, it is provided that the spoken part of the proceedings should be allowed to be conducted in Cantonese or English or both, at the discretion of the presiding magistrates either on his own initiative or on the application of the party. However, the proceedings are still written and recorded in English as before, no matter which language was used in running the proceedings. Besides, as mentioned before, there is a shortage of Chinese speaking judicial officers or presiding officers. So the demand, at present, in English record is higher than Chinese record. Section 5 (3) of the Ordinance permits that "any party to or witness in proceedings in any court may use either the English language or the Chinese language, or such other language as the court may permit" (Chen, 1985). But even in such proceedings, the pleadings, records of the proceedings and judgment are written and recorded in English, and the judges or the lawyers involved may understand only English. In such a case, a party or witnesses gives testimony in Chinese, and a court interpreter is provided to translate consecutively (Chen, 1985).

Thus, the situation cannot be settled by merely saying that legal proceedings should be conducted in Chinese. The data collected at the end of December 1997 showed that more cases in the law courts were conducted in Chinese (Chen, 1985; Lee, 1997, p. 52). But English is still more frequently used because of the lack of Chinese proficient judges and jurors. If the judge or jurors cannot understand Chinese, the case has to be conducted in English. And if the defendant and the witnesses do not speak English, an interpreter, who does both interpretation and translation, is needed.

Unfortunately, even though the clients have the choice to choose the language which makes them understand the best in the law courts, it may not be definitely beneficial for them to have Chinese as the medium if the legal procedure is in English. Most lawyers, judges and legal officers have been trained to think, speak and write in English during their legal academic studies, and also have been trained to perform their legal tasks daily in English. As English language is their armor, they feel more confident and comfortable in using English, which they are most familiar with. Some lawyers feel threatened if they are asked to perform courtroom procedures in Chinese. Their power is lost since Chinese is not armor for them and they may feel that this will make them lose the case.

In reality, since the language chosen has a direct effect on the functioning of the judicial process and particularly on the effectiveness of those who participate in it, the language definitely influences the performance of the lawyers. Lawyers prefer to use the language that the judges understand more than the one their clients understand. Meanwhile, there are quite a number of judges who speak English as their first language. Lawyers might be discouraged from using their clients' official language in court if the judge does not understand that language. Greater pressure will be exerted on lawyers, whose primary duty is to persuade the judges to render the interpretation service unnecessary and to adopt the language of the judge rather than that of their clients (Cheung, 1997, p. 61).

Insistence on having a case heard in Chinese may backfire on the party concerned. Defendants often have to face an English-speaking judge or be represented by an English-speaking lawyer. If a defendant insists on being tried by a Chinese speaking judge or on being represented by a Chinese lawyer, s/he may have a longer waiting period because of a limited choice of counsel and judges. A study showed that 80% of solicitors fear that greater use of Chinese in written communication would make them less efficient. Statistics quoted by Chen (1985) showed that about 61% said greater use of Chinese would affect the quality of their work. 40% were dissatisfied with the official Chinese text of the statutes and the ability of judges to hear cases efficiently in Chinese. Interpretation can be requested if the clients do not insist on having the whole case heard in Chinese. However, since loss of meaning always occurs through translation, it is believed that meaning perceived by the judges and the jurors will not be exactly conveyed. It can give rise to unfair judgment in law courts since they are not able to get the true and whole expression that the defendant or the witness wants to make.

3.6. Problem In Jury Participation

We have discussed what kinds of problems arise in pre-trial preparation, the trial process and the law recording and reporting system. Now we will see the problems that arise in jury participation.

Though every jury member selected is English proficient and has a tertiary level of education, it does not guarantee that every member can comprehend the process well enough in English. Most people do not use English in their daily lives, so even though they are well educated and well trained in writing, they may not be good enough in English listening because of a lack of practice. So it is even harder for them to listen to legal proceedings in English as they are not familiar with the legal jargon which contains terminology that they would never use or see without legal training. Even though a jury member is able to handle English, it does not mean that s/he can understand the proceedings effectively in English. Misunderstanding can lead to misjudgment and a miscarriage of justice.

3.7. Role Of Interpretation

Lastly, I would like to discuss the role of interpretation. For years, there have been classes that teach people how to interpret and understand the legal language and system so that those who have to deal with legal documents or events can be equipped to handle the subject in both English and Chinese. Lee (1997) mentioned that clients have to rely on the translators or interpreters when they cannot understand the original English version of the law. When people found that the translated version could not provide what they expected, they automatically put the blame on the translators (Lee, 1997, p. 50). However, it is true that reading legal documents and statutes is very different from reading a storybook. There are a lot of terms in the legal jargon that are not easily understood by those who do not have any legal knowledge (Lee, 1997, p. 53). For example, the term 'damage' and 'part performance' are special legal terms in legal jargon. Literal translation can cause loss of the real meaning. Meanwhile, translators have to be loyal to the source text and they do not have the authority to clarify, reduce or eliminate anything, even if there is ambiguity in the source text (Lee, 1997, p.54). In this situation, loss of meaning happens and it will not satisfy the clients' needs. However, it is not the fault of the translators. The problem is in the nature of languages. Two statements with literally the same wording from two different languages can convey different meanings or even concepts. Furthermore, certain terms in the source text bear a concept that does not exist in Chinese and the translator or drafter has to invent a new Chinese term (Lee, 1997, p. 54). For example, for the term "legal charge" there is no equivalent in Chinese vocabulary. So the Chinese term "法定押記" was invented by the Law Drafting Division for the concept of "legal charge" (Lee, 1997, p. 52). Since the word is newly coined, the concept is unfamiliar to people. A person who does not have any prior legal concepts or specific explanation definitely will have difficulty in comprehending the target text though it is in a language he knows well (Lee, 1997, p. 54-55).

Even though there is a Chinese equivalent, the terminology used in Hong Kong is different from that used in China. The term "confiscation" is translated as "充公" in Hong Kong, and will be translated as "沒收" in China. Both terms are in Chinese, but they are not exactly the same. So, in this case, the Law Drafting Division will likely choose the former one as it is more familiar to people in Hong Kong (Lee, 1997, p. 53). But this would be a problem if convergence between the law in the PRC (People's Republic of China) and the law in Hong Kong is one of the purposes for having statutes translated.

The truth is that most legal officers and attorneys usually prefer to use the source text instead, and the recipients of the translated text are mainly members of the public (Lee, 1997, p. 53). As we have discussed above, translation does not help the public to understand the law better. In fact, a person would not pick up the statute book to read unless they had to. The misunderstanding of law or lack of information about law is not primarily due to the language used. It is due to lack of basic legal knowledge and concepts in Chinese/Cantonese. Lee (1997) mentioned that translation is not the ultimate means for delivering to the public an understanding of the law. The ultimate means should be legal education for the public and special courses for those who have the need. In addition, the legal education program should be run in Chinese/Cantonese because no matter how well the translators or interpreters have been trained, discrepancies of meaning still exist because of the lack of legal knowledge rather than the lack of skills in interpretation.

4.0. DISCUSSION

The language situation in education leads to a lot of problems in the present legal system in Hong Kong SAR. When the choice of language is in favor for the lawyers, it may not be in favor for the defendants or

the witnesses. When the choice is in favor for the defendants and the witnesses, it becomes unfavorable to the lawyers, which could turn out to affect the clients negatively. Both parties cannot be satisfied, no matter which language is chosen in the present legal situation.

Because of the promise of “50 years unchanged” (Cheung, 1997), part of the common law legal system has to be retained and it cannot be kept without having English as a dominant official language. Bilingualism has long been suggested, but it does not seem successful, and many people still prefer to be “selective monolinguals.” Is the cause of all the problems simply the choice of language?

Other countries in similar situations cannot get rid of English as reference. Singapore, for example, has 4 official languages, and Mandarin is one of them. The written Chinese is pretty much the same as the spoken Mandarin. But the most important thing is that they consistently put English as a dominant language in education, government, the legal system, and even in small enterprises, regardless of the population of different ethnicities. Their language policy is sound and the government unifies the whole country as an English speaking country. However, comparing Hong Kong with Singapore, the majority of the population in Hong Kong speaks Cantonese which has a structure very different from the written Chinese. And while English is politically dominant, Hong Kong has never been an English-speaking region. Because of the “Cantonese pride,” even though people recognize English as an important language, they are resistant to speak English in daily life. It is considered arrogant if an ethnic Chinese uses too much English in conversation. This inconsistency in language use is related to language policy and education, and this is part of the difficulty in shaping the structure of the present legal system.

After Hong Kong was changed over, people in Hong Kong already needed to deal with two writing systems (SWC and English) and two or three spoken languages (English and Cantonese as a must, Mandarin as optionally important). That means that one had to deal with at least three channels (SWC, Cantonese and English) every day. After Mandarin is made a third official language (Agencies, 2003), people will have to deal with a fourth channel. However, it is not only a matter of language use for society’s needs, it is also a matter of legal knowledge provided in different channels and the self-translation and interpretation, or channel switching, inside the cognitive capacity of judges, attorneys and other legal officers. This leads to a lot of confusion in legal performance and the meaning can be more distorted after translation into different languages. So the shape of the legal system is influenced by 4 channels of languages and probably 4 different mental spaces. This can result in increasing burdens on individual legal officers and counselors, and also more ambiguity and misunderstanding due to clashes of mental spaces and concepts.

5.0. POWER OF ENGLISH, SUBCONSCIOUS OPPRESSION ON THE PUBLIC IN HONG KONG

I want to point out the ‘weak’ status of the native language, Cantonese, of the majority in Hong Kong, though they have pride in it. It is undeniable that English receives some prestige from the world view, and because of the economy of Mainland China, Mandarin is very highly valued, too. In 2003, there was discussion considering shifting the schools from Cantonese to Mandarin in teaching Chinese language and literature. As we have discussed, such situations never succeeded with Cantonese. While Cantonese is the native language in Hong Kong, it seems that the public has to surrender to English, the minority language, because of the higher prestige of the people who brought in English. They also surrender to Mandarin because of the business and political power possessed by the Mandarin speaking sovereignty—China. This not only leads to the complications we have reviewed in the legal system, the government formation, the education system, business and economy, but it also leads to the oppression of the ethnic Cantonese speakers.

From the early discussion on the medium choices in the education system before 1997, there was actually a chance for a rise in the use of Cantonese if the parents and the public preferred the Chinese-medium education to English-medium education. However, the parents chose English and the children were raised to believe that English was the key to prosperity and wealth. It is a good example of what Foucault meant in his ascending analysis of power—‘power comes from below’ (Tew, 2002, p. 159). Power is not operated unidirectionally from the top level of a hierarchy. Power is not necessarily controlled by an overt, conscious action or by policy from one who is in a higher position in the social hierarchy. It can be controlled by how the person in a lower position reacts to the situation. The stereotypes of English speaking and Chinese/Cantonese speaking came from a cumulative effect that ran through the whole social body in the public of Hong Kong.

Because of British colonialism, most people in the world believed that English was necessary in a neutral sense. English dominated people's minds without the government doing further promotion of English (Spack, 2002; Thiong'o, 1986). In this situation, not only was the land of Hong Kong colonized by the English, but the minds of the ethnic Cantonese were colonized by the English language (Thiong'o, 1986). Mind colonization is very different from, and even more powerful than, land colonization. Once a land was liberated from colonization, the land use would no longer be under the control of the previous colonizing country. However, when the mind is colonized, it will still be under the control of the previous colonizing policies though the land is liberated from the colonizing country. That is why the bondage of the English language still persists even though Hong Kong has been turned back to China. Since the mind is kept colonized, the Cantonese language stays in a powerless state because its speakers do not empower it. In addition to the misconception that Cantonese is never powerful, the same mind colonization process happens to people in Hong Kong when it is under Chinese sovereignty. The mind is not only colonized by English, but also by Mandarin.

5.1. Injustice In The Legal Situation In Hong Kong

Hong Kong has been well known for its "blind eye justice," having the blind eye statue in front of the supreme law court. However, if everyone cannot understand the legal proceedings and every single detail in understanding their rights, a number of people suffer from "some inhibition of their ability to develop and exercise their capacities and express their needs, thoughts and feelings" (Tew, 2002). According to Tew's theory, this inhibition is termed an "oppressive power" over the public, no matter whether it is conscious or not, though one may not realize that he/she is being oppressed or even think that the unjust practice is legitimate because of prolonged silent acceptance by the public. That is how the social body as a whole was affected by colonialism. Inequality and unfairness happen when oppression exists. A legal system is supposed to carry out justice, but I wonder how the legal system in Hong Kong can carry out justice when its nature is already injustice.

It is no doubt that one will be endowed with power when he masters a prestigious powerful language. The power is not necessarily inherited by ethnicity. In Hong Kong, anyone who can master English well is automatically recognized and has an unseen higher status. However, I do not believe that the ethnic Chinese can be totally empowered by knowing English when the subconscious oppression still continues. On one hand, they think they are empowered by learning English, but they are actually oppressed by the language imperialism and colonialism on the other hand. The bondage of the people in Hong Kong by the English language makes them choose the English language without their own will and wish, and they refrain from appreciating their roots, their identity, their culture and their native language (Spack, 2002; Thiong'o, 1986). This can lead them not to relate themselves to the world through their original roots, but to relate themselves to the world and the environment with English and the colonial stereotypes as the center. It is how colonizing people can control the colonized people by alienating them from their roots and origins (Thiong'o, 1986).

6.0. CONCLUSION

With the norms and stereotypes formed from colonization, people simply think that improving the language policy can improve the legal system. However, if Cantonese is kept aside in the education system and policies, ethnic Cantonese people can hardly receive justice. The legal system will only serve as a game of power instead of a place to seek justice.

There are a lot of problems in the present legal system in Hong Kong, and many of these problems can be fixed by empowering the ethnic Cantonese as well as their native language. The Cantonese language has to rise up to liberate the people's minds from the bondage of English dominion, or even Mandarin dominion. I do not mean to say that the public should hold a rally and resist any use of English and Mandarin. The nature of learning other languages is good, but the purposes of learning other languages can be unhealthy. The ethnic Cantonese in Hong Kong must first understand that the Cantonese language is good, and then they can empower their own language by changing their attitudes towards their roots and language. These would be the first steps in changing the language situation, and in turn changing the legal system in the future.

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TEACHING LANGUAGES EFFECTIVELY IN A MULTILINGUAL CLASSROOM WITH GLOBAL GRAMMAR

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ABSTRACT

This paper introduces Global Grammar as a new and creative method for language teaching in multilingual classrooms such as those found in Hawai'i. I hope to demonstrate how effective it is to teach languages by applying the unique traits of the Chinese language (Hsieh 2004a, 2004b) in multilingual classrooms like those in Hawai'i. With this method, we can explain, for example, the Chinese sentences involving unique directional verbs "guo" and "lai," which most English and Japanese speaking students have found difficult to master. With the analytical device provided by Global Grammar, we can easily compare cross-linguistic differences, help our students recognize these differences and thus help them in their second or foreign language learning. Global Grammar not only provides a fascinating theoretical explanation for variations across languages, but also affords a solid foundation for language pedagogy. This paper will demonstrate how we can apply Global Grammar effectively to the teaching of Chinese to students with divergent linguistic backgrounds.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Global Grammar is a powerful theory that can provide a very useful cognitive foundation to explain differences across languages. When language learners come across expressions that are different from those in their mother tongues, one of the most common solutions for the learners, whether they are taught to use it or not, is to "simply memorize" those expressions. However, memorization is not really simple, nor is it effective all the time. Learners often make mistakes by directly or literally translating the expressions of their mother tongues into the equivalent expressions in the target language they are learning or speaking because what they have "simply memorized" did not take effect at the right time. These learners have failed because they have never tried to "cognize" and thus "internalize" the cross-linguistic differences they are facing. Global Grammar, as this paper will introduce below, provides a handy tool for language learners to cognize and thus internalize such cross-linguistic differences and thus facilitate effective language learning, especially in a multilingual classroom.

The difficulty of learning a foreign language is that learners do not know when and how to use correct expressions in another language since languages do differ in the way they represent the world. Consider the following sentences (E = English, C = Chinese):

1. (E) John slashed Kerry with a knife three times, but Kerry did not die.
(C) Zhang-san sha Li-si san dao, dan shi Li-si mei si.
John kill Kerry three knife but Kerry not die

It is easy for language learners to notice that using the Chinese verb "sha," which is translated into the verb "kill" in English by most people all the time, does not necessarily indicate that someone is dead as a result of the action. In the classroom, a Chinese language teacher may explain to students the differences between Chinese "sha" and English "kill." But most of the time, language teachers cannot account for the reasons behind the differences apparent in these two expressions. Therefore, learners usually resort to simply memorizing them, and they usually end up making mistakes in later usages in a very natural setting as a result of the "negative" transfer they still get from their mother tongue. Let us consider another example below:

2. (E) I take a bus to school.
(C) wo zuo gong che qu sue xiao.
I sit bus go school

In sentences (2E) and (2C), we find that the expression "sit bus" never occurs in English. So what do Chinese language learners do? Most of the time, again, students try to simply memorize the English expressions. From the two examples above, we see that it is not easy to provide an integrated explanation of the motivation behind all these various expressions across languages. Before resorting to simply memorizing the

expressions in different languages, Global Grammar proposes a new approach to analyze the various expressions among languages that can make language learning much more interesting and effective. In the following discussions, first we will introduce the theory of Global Grammar, and second, we will demonstrate its application in language pedagogy using Chinese teaching as an example.

2.0. THEORY OF GLOBAL GRAMMAR

Global Grammar is a meta-language that contains a maximal set of expressions from its regional languages. It relates the parts with the whole. Human beings are different cognitively in perceiving the world using their own perspectives and the differences are reflected in the various expressions that are deduced from the regional languages. To see the structure of a maximal set formation in the real languages, consider the following sentences (J = Japanese):

3. (E) Please bring the book to me.

(C) Qing ba shu na guo lai gei wo.
 Please book take over come give me

(J) Hon-wo (watashi-ni) motte kite kudasai.
 Book-obj. (Me-goal) take/ bring come please

4. Expressions in the 3 regional languages:

English	(1E)	{please, bring, to}
Chinese	(1C)	{ching, ba, na, guo, lai, gei}
Japanese	(1J)	{motte, kite, kudasai}

----->Global Expressions:

Global Language {ching, ba, na, guo, lai, gei}

As shown in (4), English has three expressions {please, bring, to}. Chinese has six expressions {ching, ba, na, guo, lai, gei}. Japanese has three expressions {motte, kite, kudasai}. The three regional languages share some expressions in common and some expressions are unique in particular languages. The deduced global language from the three regional languages has six expressions {ching, ba, na, guo, lai, gei}. The six expressions include the expressions that the three languages share in common and the expressions they do not share; therefore, the sum will be the maximal set that is synthetically deduced from the three regional grammars.

3.0. APPLICATION IN LANGUAGE PEDAGOGY

Global Grammar is based on the idea that reality is seen from different perspectives and the same image or action may thus be represented very differently in different languages. Since a global language is synthesized from different regional languages, the more regional languages we have, the more features we can derive from them to form a more complete global expression set that is the reflection of reality in languages. A multilingual classroom therefore provides various regional languages for teachers to demonstrate to students the application of Global Grammar to language teaching. I will divide the following discussion into four sections to demonstrate the application of Global Grammar to Chinese pedagogy. In the first section, I illustrate the processes of decomposition and compression that are practiced in languages. In the second section, I will show how languages focus on different points in a temporal sequence. Next, I apply the same processes to account for the usage of compressive verbs versus specific ones. And finally, I illustrate that culture plays an important factor in foregrounding the features that are decomposed in languages.

3.1. Decomposition And Compression

By using Global Grammar, it becomes clear that one action can actually be decomposed into different verbs to account for this one complete action. Bearing this notion in mind, consider the examples again:

5. (E) John slashed Kerry with a knife three times, but Kerry did not die.
 (C) Zhang-san sha Li-si san dao, dan shi Li-si mei si.
 John kill Kerry three knife but Kerry not die

In example 5, “kill” in English can be decomposed into two verbs in Chinese, which are “sha” and “si”. Without being followed by a resultative verb “si,” “sha” does not necessarily mean to cause someone to die. Someone can just be injured from the action of “sha” in Chinese. Consider the second example reproduced in 6 below.

6. (E) John finished his homework.
 (C) Zhang-san zuo wan le ta de gong ke.
 John do complete ASP his homework

In this example, Chinese “zuo” and “wan” which mean “do” and “complete” are compressed into the word “finish” in English. These two examples show that one verb can be more comprehensive in a language and some other languages might use more specific verbs to describe the same actions that occur in reality. If we go beyond the phrase level, we can decompose or compress the verbs in sentences. Consider the following sentences:

7. (E1) I will fetch a glass of water.
 (C) Wo qu na yi bei shui lai.
 I go take one glass water come
 (E2) I will take a glass of water.
 (E3) I will bring a glass of water.

Chang (1998) pointed out that neither the English translations of “I will bring a glass of water” nor “I will take a glass of water” can fully express the meaning of the Chinese sentence, although they are more natural translations. Only the word “fetch” exactly expresses the verbs “qu, na, lai” in the Chinese sentence. In this example, “fetch” is decomposed into “qu, na, lai” in Chinese.

3.2. Emphasis On Different Points Of A Temporal Sequence

Tai (1985) has observed that verbs constitute a temporal sequence in a sentence. A verb or an action contains a temporal sequence if we apply the processes of compression and decomposition in different languages. Each language focuses different points in a temporal sequence. We can break down an action into three periods: initial, duration and end points. Consider the following sentences:

8. (E) I take a bus to school.
 (C) Wo zuo gong che qu xue xiao
 I sit bus go school

If we decompose the action of “take a bus” into a sequence of actions, the initial point is that a person has to get on the bus, stand on the bus and then physically be seated on the bus. Chinese people focus on the end point, which is “being seated” compared to the verb “take” in English. The English verb “take” tends to describe the duration of the process. Consider another example.

9. (E) Surf on the net.
 (C) shang wang
 up net
 (J) intaanetto-wo tsuku
 internet-obj use

In this example, both English and Japanese emphasize the duration of the action whereas Chinese emphasizes the initial point “get up.” Another example that shows that an event can be broken down into a temporal sequence as well is found below in 10.

10. (E) The house is on fire.
 (C1) Fang zi qi huó. / (C2) fan zi zhao huó.
 house start fire house contact fire
 (J) Ie-ni hi-ga tsukimashita
 house-goal fire-subj. contact

In this example, the English expression describes the status of burning. It is obvious to see that this expression focuses on the duration period in a temporal sequence if we compare it with Chinese expression “start fire.” This Chinese expression describes the initial point when the fire first started. These two sentences are probably closer to the time point shown in the English sentence.

4.0. GENERAL AND SPECIFIC

Sometimes a verb in one language can be more specific than in another language. With the approach of Global Grammar, we can explain that the various specific verbs in one language may involve selecting different actions that are represented by a more comprehensive verb in another language. The data in the following chart shows the process in decomposing a more comprehensive verb into more specific verbs:

11.

	Chinese	English	Japanese
(1)	tan gang qín tap piano	Play piano.	piano wo hiku piano obj. tap
(2)	chui di zi blow flute	Play a flute.	fue wo fuku flute obj. blow
(3)	la xiao ti qín pull violin	Play a violin.	baiorinn wo hiku violin obj. pull
(4)	da gu hit drum	Play drums.	tudumi wo utu drum obj. hit
(5)	da lan qiu hit basketball	Play basketball	basukettobooru wo suru basketball obj.do

In the data above, the English word “play” can be used in describing very different actions, such as play the piano and play basketball, although instruments and sports are in different categories. However, in both Chinese and Japanese expressions, different actions are represented by specific verbs. The specific verb usage in Chinese and Japanese gives a more concrete image of reality than English does.

5.0. ANALOGY AND METAPHOR FOCUSES

Many metaphors and analogies can reflect the profound culture of a language. Due to their culture differences, different languages foreground different features selected from the global expression set. The foregrounded features in one language are the analogy or metaphors that describe an object or an action. Consider the following examples:

12. (E) Airplane
 (C) fei ji
 fly machine
 (J) hikou ki
 fly travel machine

The English speakers focus on the fact that the object “airplane” is a machine in the air. For both Chinese and Japanese speakers, however, it is seen as a flying machine and Japanese people even further foreground the feature of function. That is, the Japanese language has additional focus on the traveling function.

13. (E) Married the wrong man.
 (C) Jia cuo ren.
 Marry (for fem.) wrong person

In this example, Chinese people focus the mistake on the action of marrying taken by the wife. In the culture, people assume that the wife has to take the responsibility for marrying the wrong person. However, English speakers will attribute the mistake to the husband. In English, something is wrong with the husband, unlike in Chinese which attributes the mistake to the women. By comparing the English and the Chinese sentences, we can easily find the cultural differences within these two languages. Another example for the cultural differences reflected in metaphor is “see a doctor.”

14. (E) Go to see a doctor.
 (C1) kan bing / (C2) kan yi sheng
 see illness see doctor
 (J1) byoki-wo mite morau / (J2) ishya-ni iku
 illness-obj. look obtain doctor-goal go

English speakers never say “see illness.” Japanese people need to say “to have the doctor see one’s illness” if they want to mention “illness.” The reason why Chinese people can say “see illness” is probably because they consider knowing one’s own illness and having it cured is more important. In a global expression set, we can see that the Chinese expression directly foregrounds the feature of illness that English and Japanese do not normally do. It is very interesting that we can look into the cultural differences reflected in expressions with the approach of Global Grammar.

6.0. CONCLUSION

Global Grammar is a meta-language that is synthetically deduced from a number of regional languages. With the concept of the collective global set of expressions, Global Grammar further provides a powerful analytical device in decomposing and compressing various expressions in languages. Through applying the processes of decomposition and compression, learners can easily cognize the different phenomena in all languages related to actions, such as actions in a temporal sequence, actions involved in comprehensive verbs and specific verbs, and the foregrounded cultural perspectives that appear in metaphors. Through forming a global language in a multilingual classroom, learners not only benefit from acquiring the target languages from a more interesting approach, but they are also able to observe their own mother tongues with a fresh new look.

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WHAT TRIGGERS L2 SPEAKERS' STYLE SHIFT OF JAPANESE PLAIN FORMS?

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ABSTRACT

Phenomena of style shift have been investigated in various fields; however, style shift by second language speakers has not been researched by many. This paper aims to explore how eleven intermediate level L2 speakers from the corpus use their communicative strategies related to style shift, the shift from *desu/masu* to *da*-style (plain form), in their story telling. The paper first reviews the literature on style shift in general, followed by Japanese language-specific studies. Data is analyzed to show the distribution of style shift in the form of sentence-ending markings, followed by an analysis of 'statement to oneself,' which is an established strategy for L1 speakers in *desu/masu* to *da* style shift. The research reveals that the function of style shift varies by individual, but three cases of 'statement to oneself' indicate that L2 speakers in intermediate levels already show early signs of style shift strategy that is similar to L1 strategy.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This research concerns Japanese style shifting by non-native speakers of Japanese. First, I will briefly review issues on style shift in Japanese. Then I will analyze data of non-native speakers' narratives from corpora.

The definition of style shift varies because it deeply relates to the approach that each researcher takes. In this paper, I consider style shift as a speaker's active choice of styles from their repertoire within a speech event, and style shift is a part of the speaker's communicative strategy. The search for the regularities of patterns in the use of style-shifting mainly concerns 'speakers' with at least near-native competence in speech. My paper aims to illustrate that active users of style shift could be non-native speakers. To my knowledge, L2 learners' style shift in Japanese has not been investigated except in Cook's (2004) study on L2 learners' discourse in dinner conversation with their host families. Are styles shifting strategies of L2 intermediate-level speakers similar to those of L1 speakers? In my research, the style shift in question is *da* style, or plain form, in *desu/masu* style sentence endings.

2.0. ISSUES ON STYLE SHIFTING IN JAPANESE LANGUAGE

Maynard (1998) illustrates the distinction between two styles by contrasting two sentences with the meaning 'Ichiro came into the classroom' (modified from Maynard, 1998, p.17).

- 1a. Ichiro ga kyooshitsu ni haitte **kimashita**.
- 1b. Ichiro ga kyooshitsu ni haitte **kita** yo.

Maynard (1998) calls the first example (1a) formal style, while (1b) is an informal or abrupt style. Although the two styles are traditionally explained in terms of a casual/polite or formal/informal bipolar system, the issue of formality and politeness here has come into question in recent studies (Cook, 1996; Okamoto, 1998). Therefore, I will use the terms *desu/masu* style and *da* style for this paper.

When do speakers shift from *desu/masu* style to *da* style? Among diverse approaches on Japanese style shift, one salient example is 'statement to ourselves' (Cook 1996). A statement to oneself, or an utterance directed to the speaker him/herself rather than to a listener(s), such as the filler 'Let's see' in *desu/masu*-based context, is more likely to be marked by *da* style. My question is whether intermediate-level speakers show style shift patterns that are similar to patterns of L1 speakers. Therefore, I particularly focus on the evidence of statement to oneself from the data.

3.0. DATA AND ANALYSIS

The data used in this research are from the corpora of a Nagoya University site¹ (Murakami, 2002). Participants in the corpora are 11 L2 speakers of Japanese. There is no description of the speakers in the data, but I can roughly assess that the subjects would score approximately in the range of intermediate low to mid level in the ACTFL (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages) scale. According to ACTFL proficiency guidelines, the narrative is a task for advanced level learners; therefore, some cases of breakdown are expected from the intermediate-level speakers. Importantly, I can confirm that all of the subjects are familiar with both *da*-style and *desu/masu*-style, since both styles appeared in the transcripts. From the corpora, I chose one session of storytelling data per speaker, where each subject describes the same story, which I named 'a broken vase' story, based on 4 sequential pictures or 4(*yon*) *koma manga*. One session has two participants present in the transcript, the subject and a Japanese native speaker who is guiding the task. The L1 Japanese speaker occasionally helps the subject by providing Japanese words upon request. The data analyzed for this paper contain 138 sentences by L2 speakers in total.

The plot of the story is the following. One day during a teacher's absence, a beautiful vase was found broken in a classroom. When the teacher came in the class and found the broken vase, she interrogated her students one by one to figure out who broke the vase. The first victim was a pupil in front. The pupil answered that it was not him, pointing to another pupil behind him to blame. So the next pupil pointed to the person behind him, and finally, the last pupil had no person to point to. The conclusion of the story varies depending on the individuals and many subjects use different expressions for describing the story. This is because not many linguistic cues are provided from the pictures, and the task for the subjects is to create the story by themselves, relying solely on visual cues.

The data is mainly narrative, with L1 speakers' feedback signals, but it sometimes changes to a conversation format, for example, when an L2 speaker asks for translation. The treatment of sentence endings should be consistent, since boundaries of sentences are not necessarily apparent from data. When a sentence has an ending format, and it is not followed by a semantically connected expression, I consider that the speaker concluded one sentence and transits to the next. And when a candidate for sentence ending expression, such as bare verb *itteta* 'said,' is followed by rephrasing, I will treat both phrases as one sentence, even if the two utterances are interrupted by the L1 speaker's feedback, i.e., *un* 'yeah'.

The number of style shift occurrences per subject, ABI to YUR, is shown in Appendix A. In the second column, the number of style shift instances means how many sentences end in *da* style. The third column shows the total number of sentences produced by each subject, and the last column indicates the ratio of *da* style sentences, thus style shifts, among all the *desu/masu*-based sentences. In other words, the higher the percentage, the more style shift instances are found. It reveals that there are different distribution patterns among individuals; ANA and CHA used *desu/masu* style consistently with no switch to *da* style, while BIR shows all *da*-style in sentence endings. In a way, their predetermination of style preferences prevents them from using style-shift options. The length of sentences varies, also, for CHA has only one sentence to describe the story, while BIH has 31 sentences for the task. My impression in general is that the longer the sentences are, the more natural the utterances sound. It is important to note that there are many interactions with L1 speakers, the initiator of the task, in the case of breakdown, which tends to increase the number of sentences, as in the case of BIH. Many style shifts are observed when an L2 speaker asks questions of his/her listener, the L1 speaker, about unknown words or to confirm the usage of a word.

Next, the causes or functions of each style shift instance are coded into ten categories as shown in Appendix B. These categories are (1) Breakdown, (2) Direct quote, (3) *[[desu/masu]da]* structure, (4) Asking L1 for confirmation/correct words/information, (5) Repeating L1 speakers' cues, (6) Searching for correct words, (7) *Statement to oneself*, (8) Talking to L1 speaker (the listener), (9) Subordinate construction, and (10) Evaluation.

For this paper, I will focus on (7) *Statement to oneself*. I found three instances in the data, and I will show each within the context in which they were given.

In the first example, the L2 speaker, named BIH, knows that something is wrong with the utterance, a non-word *aroi*. What I would like to point out here, among other *da* style endings, is the utterance of self-correction, '*aroi*, no, that's a wrong word.'

Example 1. L2: BIH

L2	<i>dakara kono kodomo ga</i> <i>aroi, aroi ... aroi</i>	'So, this child, <i>aroi, aroi, ... aroi</i> '
L1	<i>aroi?</i>	'What's <i>aroi</i> ?'
L2	<i>aroi ie chigau.</i> <i>Kono gakusee ga ...</i>	' <i>aroi</i> , no, that's a wrong word.' 'This student'
L1	<i>un</i>	'Yeah'

The next example is from another participant, MUK, who is confused. Speaker MUK has a hard time recalling a word for 'floral patterns,' the pattern on the broken vase, and the speaker is experiencing breakdown at the point of the word 'vase.' The L1 speaker helps MUK by providing the correct word for vase, 'kabin.' The last sentence by the L2 speaker reads *aa soo ka* 'Oh, I see.' Please note that it accompanies a sentence ending particle, *ka*, which is roughly an equivalent of an exclamation mark.

Example 2. L2: MUK

L2	<i>hanabara no hanabara no</i> <i>... rokupu?</i>	'floral patterns <i>rokupu?</i> '
L1	<i>rokupu aa kabin</i>	' <i>Rokupu?</i> Oh, you mean a "vase."'
L2	<i>aa soo ka</i>	'Oh, I see.'

The last example is, again, from the speaker BIH. Here, the L1 speaker supposedly pointed to the last picture, and asked 'Are you ready?' After confirming which picture the L1 speaker meant, the last line of the L2 speaker reads 'what kind of picture this is, I wonder.' *Kore wa donna shashin kana?* By saying this, the L2 speaker talked to himself/herself while thinking about the message of the picture. Again, the *da* form ending accompanies a sentence ending particle, *kana* 'I wonder.'

Example 3. L2: BIH

L1	<i>ii desu ka?</i>	'Are you ready?'
L2	<i>a kore?</i>	'Oh, this one?'
L1	<i>hai</i>	'Yes.'
L2	<i>kore wa donna shashin kana?</i>	'What kind of picture this is, I wonder.'

4.0. CONCLUSION

All of the examples introduced here sound like a natural switch to my Japanese ears, although each L2 speakers experiences breakdown in a manner typical to intermediate level speakers. Therefore, I conclude that L2 speakers in the intermediate level may already have enough proficiency to utilize complex communicative strategies involving style shift, such as statements to themselves.

What, then, triggers the shift? I will introduce a possible explanation from previous studies for what causes the shift.

Cook (2004) claims that there are two kinds of *da*-styles (plain forms): 'non-naked plain forms' that accompany affect keys as sentence ending particles, and 'naked plain forms' without affect keys. An 'affect key' is what indexes the speaker's moods, attitudes, feelings, and dispositions toward the addressee or the referent (Cook, 2004). Examples of 'statement to oneself' that I found from the corpus include two non-naked plain forms. However, I need much more information for the treatment of apparently 'naked plain forms' as in the third example quoted above, since many candidates for affect keys as prosodic features are not available in the corpus transcription. Please note that Cook's explanation is for interaction among people, not for 'statement to oneself.' In order to apply the notion of affect keys to these cases, more examples are needed.

On the same issue, Makino (2002) has a different take. He argues that two style shifts indexing information classify as change. In the case of a *desu/masu*-style to *da*-style shift in 'statement to oneself,' it involves the shift from *SOTO* 'outside'-oriented foregrounding information for an audience to *UCHI* 'inside'-oriented backgrounding information to oneself; therefore, it signals that the speaker/writer turns his/her communicative direction inward.

Makino's discussion resembles Goffman's (1979) notion of footing in the sense that the orientation shift from audience to speaker is expressed in speech events. Goffman introduces the audience-related participation framework, where 'statement to oneself' can be viewed as a shift from hearer to overhearer. When the audience is a hearer, as an interaction between two people, the speaker expects a hearer. However, when the footing changes to overhearer, the intention is not to provide information to the ratified listener and take them to the conversational floor, but to allow everyone in range to overhear the phrases. Goffman's participation framework seems to be the best description of what is happening in cases such as this.

This research serves as a pilot study to prove that it is possible for intermediate level L2 speakers to use style shifting strategies appropriately to insert their own statements directed at themselves within narratives, which may be the easiest style shifting strategy. My current hypothesis is that L2 speakers gradually build their style shifting strategies, and there are some types of style shifting that are difficult for L2 speakers to acquire. Among such strategies, 'statement to oneself' may be one of the first examples to appear in the early stages of language acquisition for L2 speakers. Nevertheless, such analyses require more data to verify this hypothesis. To further this research, I am in the process of collecting more data from subjects with different proficiency levels, including native speakers.

NOTES

1. The data used in this research comes from Murakami (2002).

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APPENDIX A. Numbers of style shifting occurrence: *desu/masu-* to *da*-style

Subject Name	Number of style switch instances	Whole sentences count	% of occurrence
ABI	2	10	20.0%
ALI	2	4	50.0%
ANA	0	7	0.0%
BIH	10	31	32.3%
BIR	10	10	100.0%
CHA	0	1	0.0%
IBA	8	15	53.3%
KUR	5	19	26.3%
MIK	3	13	23.1%
MUK	8	10	80.0%
YUR	6	18	33.3%

APPENDIX B. Causes and function of style shift instances

Categories:

(a) Breakdown, (b) Direct quote, (c) *[[desu/masu]da]* structure, (d) Asking L1 for confirmation/correct words/ information, (e) Repeating L1 speakers' cues, (f) Searching for correct words, (g) **Statement to oneself**, (h) Talking to L1 speaker (the listener), (i) Subordinate construction, and (j) Evaluation.

(a) – (j)	ABI	ALI	ANA	BIH	BIR	CHA	IBA	KUR	MIK	MUK	YUR	TOTAL
Breakdown		1		1						1	1	4
Direct quote		2		2			2	1			3	10
<i>[[desumasu]da]</i>	1											1
Asking				2			1	2	1			6
Repeating								1			1	2
Searching				1								1
Statement to oneself				2							1	3
Talking to L1 sp				2						1		3
Subordinate const.										ALL		1
Evaluation	1	1					5	1	2			8
TOTAL	2	4	0	10	N/C	N/C	8	5	3	3	6	41

THE ACQUISITION OF GERMAN V2 STRUCTURE BY ENGLISH SPEAKING CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the correlation between finiteness and verb placement in the acquisition of the German verb-second (V2) construction by young English speakers. V2 involves fronting or topicalization of the direct object, adverb, or prepositional phrase immediately followed by the tensed verb. The findings in this study are based on results from production data of 15 English-speaking child learners of German, aged between 8;2 and 14;0.

In generative literature on child L2 acquisition, with respect to word order and finite/nonfinite alternation, the Missing Inflection Hypothesis (Haznedar & Schwartz, 1997) postulates that at an abstract level, all clauses are finite and there is no relationship between finiteness and clause type. L2 learners may produce errors in morphology. The Optional Infinitive stage (OI stage) that is common in L1 acquisition does not exist in L2 acquisition. The Truncation Hypothesis (Prévost, 1997), on the other hand, argues that as in L1 acquisition, the OI stage also prevails in child L2 acquisition, i.e. there is optionality of verb movement and co-occurrence of finite and non-finite declaratives in L2 acquisition. The results of this study are compatible with the Missing Inflection Hypothesis but not consistent with the Truncation Hypothesis. The data further show that unlike what has been reported so far in the literature on L2 acquisition, not only adult learners but also child L2 learners exhibit missing inflections.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

One interesting phenomenon in second language acquisition is how learners acquire a second language (L2) that has a different word order than that of their native language (L1). One such case is investigated in this study, namely how English speakers learn the word order of German which on the surface is partly the same as that of English (SVO) but is underlyingly SOV and involves finite verb movement from final to second position. This verb-second (V2) pattern requires the finite verb in any German matrix clause to be in the second position.

V2 in German is a popular and well-studied phenomenon in L1 and adult L2 acquisition. The L2 acquisition research on this phenomenon in children, however, has been scarce. Only one study by Pienemann (1980) has looked at the development of German word order, in particular verb placement, in child L2 acquisition. The impetus for the present study is thus the lack of research on the acquisition of V2 construction in child L2 acquisition. According to Schwartz (1992, 2003), in order to better understand whether UG is involved in adult L2 acquisition, it is highly informative to examine child L2 acquisition as it could possibly provide a missing link to the question of UG access in adult second language acquisition. If the developmental sequences in child L2 and adult L2 are similar, evidence is provided for a UG-based model of adult second language acquisition.

This study examines and analyzes production data of English-speaking child learners of German. The specific syntactic construction under investigation is the V2 construction, in particular the non-canonical word order, i.e. non-subject in initial position. This involves fronting or topicalizing the direct object, adverb, or prepositional phrase immediately followed by the tensed verb. The main focus in this study is a comparison between children's acquisition of German as L2 and children's acquisition of German as L1. In particular, one main theme recurring in generative L2 acquisition research is investigated, namely the contingencies between verb form and verb position, i.e. the correlation between finiteness and verb placement. The research questions addressed in this study are the following:

- 1) Does child L2 acquisition pattern like child L1 acquisition with respect to the verb placement-verb form contingency?
- 2) In German child L2, is there a correlation between finiteness and V2 movement, and respectively a correlation between non-finiteness and absence of V2 movement, i.e. the uninflected verb remaining in final position?

The present paper is organized as follows. Section 2 provides a brief background on the German V2 construction, German V2 in L1 acquisition, and hypotheses and models in child L2 acquisition. Section 3 turns to the current study itself, including subjects, German instruction, predictions, methodology, and proficiency measurement. Section 4 describes the two experimental tasks, analyses and discusses the tasks' results. Section 5 provides a brief overall summary and conclusion of the paper.

2.0. BACKGROUND

2.1. German V2 Construction

German is an SOV language with an overlaying verb-second in main clauses. The word order in main clauses is SVO. The verb is in second position and is [+finite]. The verb can be a main verb, an auxiliary, or a modal.

1. Hans liest ein Buch.
Hans read-3s a book
'Hans is reading a book.'
2. Hans hat ein Buch gelesen.
Hans have-3s a book read-pst
'Hans read a book.'

The word order in embedded clauses is SOV. The verb must be in final position and is [+finite].

3. Ich glaube, dass Hans ein Buch liest.
I think-1s that Hans a book read-3s
'I think that Hans is reading a book.'

In main clauses the OV order is not seen because V has to move from the final to second position (a finite position). The object or any adverbial projection can also be in first position. In such non-subject-initial clauses, the verb must be in second position.

4. Ein Buch liest Hans heute.
a book read-3s Hans today
'Today Hans is reading a book.'
5. Heute liest Hans ein Buch.
today read-3s Hans a book
'Today Hans is reading a book.'

There are basically two derivational rules: a) fronting of finite V to C (V-I-C movement) and b) fronting of any XP, such as an object, or adverb to [Spec, CP], as illustrated below in Figure 1.

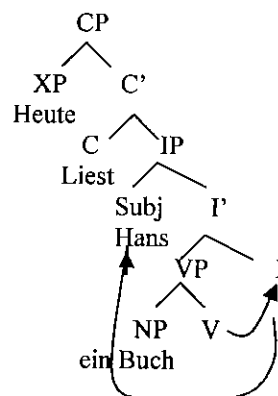


Figure 1. Fronting: Two Derivational Rules

2.2. German V2 In L1 Acquisition

L1 learners of German acquire the V2 construction at quite an early age. In their study on the acquisition of agreement morphology in two German L1 children, Clahsen & Penke (1992) show that in the early one-word to two-word stages, only about 30% of the sentences contain V2 constructions. During this phase, verb-final patterns are much more prevalent. In the later stage (around 3 years), V2 patterns increase clearly up to over 90% within a short period of time (Table 1). The finite verbal element is correctly placed in the V2 position.

Table 1: Percentages for the use of V2 in two German children (adapted from Clahsen & Penke, 1992 p. 186)

	Phase II	Phase III	Phase IV			
			35 mo	36 mo	37 mo	39 mo
Mathias	32	30	54	64	97	97
Daniel	31	24	43	73	94	90

Using quantitative analysis of a single child's corpus (Andreas, 2;1), Poeppel & Wexler (1993) examine the relationship between finiteness and word order in early German. They found that an overwhelming majority of finite verbs (95%) occur in second position and nonfinite verbs in final position. Table 2 displays this contrast.

Table 2: Finiteness and verb position (Poeppel & Wexler, 1993, p.7)

	[+finite]	[-finite]
Verb in second position (V2)	197	6
Verb in final position	11	37

The robust correlation between finiteness and V2 suggests that in children's syntactic representation, there is a C position to which the finite V can move. In addition, Andreas' production of elements other than the subject in first constituent position (28%), such as object NP or AdvP, gives evidence for existence of the CP system, as in 6 and 7, and or ADV.

6. Eine Fase hab ich.
a vase have I
7. So macht der.
so makes he

Based on the results that the child is able to employ the V2 pattern at a young age, Poeppel & Wexler argue for the existence of the complete set of functional categories in German children's grammar and their knowledge of finiteness and verb placement, agreement, head movement, and permissible word order variations. This is proposed in their Full Competence Hypothesis (FCH), which claims that children have full competence of adult grammar, except that they allow infinitives in matrix clauses.

In German L1 acquisition, there is an attested alternation between verb-second (finite verb) and verb-final (nonfinite verb). This is a typical characteristic of the Optional Infinitive stage (OI stage) or Root Infinitive stage (RI stage), a very common phase through which the L1 learners must pass.

2.3. Hypotheses In Child L2 Acquisition

In the literature on child L2 acquisition, with respect to word order and the finite/nonfinite alternation, there have been, among others, two opposing proposals for the early stage of L2 grammar acquisition: the Truncation Hypothesis (Prévost, 1997) and the Missing Inflection Hypothesis (Haznedar & Schwartz, 1997).

2.3.1. Truncation Hypothesis (TH)

According to Rizzi (1993/1994) and Haegeman (1995), truncation is a property of child L1 grammar. Prévost (1997) suggests that in L2 acquisition, analogous to L1 acquisition, there exists a period during which VP roots (truncated structures) are projected and RIs are produced. Declaratives are not always CPs, but

truncated to IPs and VPs. In these root clauses infinitival verbs are more likely to appear. The verb form in VPs is always nonfinite since it cannot move to an upper functional category that hosts a finite feature. If CP or IP is the root, the relevant functional categories are projected, verb movement takes place and the verb forms are inflected. In short, according to the TH, finiteness is structurally determined: clauses that are clearly CPs should be finite. Clauses that are not CPs should be nonfinite.

Prévost (1997) found a form-position correlation in French L2 learners with respect to negation. The verb preceding the negator is finite; the verb following the negator is nonfinite. Prévost (1997) argues for the optionality of verb movement and the co-occurrence of finite and non-finite declaratives in early L1 acquisition. As in L1 acquisition, the OI stage also prevails in child L2 acquisition. Infinitival forms occur during this certain period of time only. They are truly nonfinite and occur only in nonfinite context because they have nonfinite properties. RIs are not related to lexical or morphological problems. The TH does not regard infinitival endings as substitutes for finite markers. The fundamental claim is that finite and nonfinite verb forms do not share the same status.

2.3.2. Missing Inflection Hypothesis (MIH)

Haznedar & Schwartz (1997) found alternations between finite and nonfinite forms in a Turkish child L2 learner of English. If the child L2 learner alternates between finite and nonfinite forms, then s/he must know the finite form. The Missing Inflection Hypothesis (Haznedar & Schwartz, 1997) postulates three fundamental claims. First, at an abstract level, all clauses are finite. There is no relationship between finiteness and clause type. The use of morphology can be finite or nonfinite. L2 learners know the abstract properties of functional categories. CPs can exhibit all types of verb forms: inflected (finite), infinitival (nonfinite) or uninflected (bare form). For example, the infinitival form that occupies the finite position (Infl) appears nonfinite on the surface, but is finite indeed. Second, the L2 learners may produce errors in morphology, i.e. they have difficulty in producing the appropriate inflectional markers as these have to be learned. Lardiere (2000) proposed along the lines of the MIH that errors made by L2 learners in inflectional morphology are due to mapping problems between the syntactic and morphological domains. Hence learners resort to nonfinite morphology when they are not certain of the appropriate finite forms of the verb. Third, according to MIH, the OI stage that is common in L1 acquisition does not exist in L2 acquisition. There is no OI or RI stage, only MI (missing inflections).

Both MIH and TH predict variability between finite and nonfinite forms. Where they are distinct from each other is in the finiteness of CPs.

2.3.3. Counter-Evidence To Truncation Hypothesis

Schwartz & Sprouse (2002) re-examined the VO vs. OV word order in the child L2 Italian-German interlanguage data used by Prévost (1997, 2001) and criticized his study for only looking at L2 and ignoring the L1 and transfer effect, claiming that the interplay of both L2 and L1 have to be looked at. They predict that if transfer is taken into account, VO is expected to occur consistently, whether [+finite] or [-finite]. But if the transfer effect is disregarded, then OV with nonfinite verbs and both OV and VO with finite verbs, (depending on whether the projection is IP or CP), are expected. The Italian-German interlanguage results fit in with their prediction; the data show that the incidence of nonfinite root declaratives being VO is 95% (19/20). As for finite root declaratives, the incidence of the verb preceding its object is 99% (108/109). The results thus suggest that the word order of Italian-German child L2 does not match with results in German L1 acquisition.

Further counter-evidence to the TH is provided by Gavrusseva & Lardiere's (1996) results of the development of an eight-year-old Russian child learning English. CPs produced by this child have a nonfinite verb rate of 44.1%, hence failing to confirm the TH that CPs should be finite.

Based on Schwartz & Sprouse's (2002) counter-evidence to TH, there is evidence for transfer in the Italian-German data. Thus they conclude that child L2 acquisition does not parallel L1 acquisition:

While it's true that early child L2 acquisition is characterized by a finite-nonfinite alternation, it is not the case that the complex of properties arguably associated with the L1 Root Infinitive phenomenon ... is attested in child L2 acquisition. ... [T]heories of child L1 development can never suffice as an

exhaustive explanation of child L2 development. ... [D]espite certain parallels in L1 and child L2 acquisition, there are incontrovertible differences as well. (p.151)

3.0. THE PRESENT STUDY

3.1. Subjects

The participants in this study were 15 children whose native language is English. There were eight males and seven females from grade 3 to grade 7. Their ages ranged from 8;7 to 14;0 at the time of testing. All of the subjects have had German since kindergarten, i.e. when they were four or five years old. Since grade 1, the exposure to German has been three times per week for a period of 40 minutes each. This is the only exposure to the target language. There is no naturalistic input of German outside of the classroom.

3.2. German Instruction: The Waldorf School

Waldorf School is an institution that puts much emphasis on creativity, artistry and not on structure. In other words, meaning rather than form is stressed. Thus, the children in this study have not received explicit grammar instruction. An interview with the German teacher reveals the following information:

The children are first exposed to German acoustically in kindergarten (KG). In KG, they are not expected to speak German but only hear the language through songs, verses, and nursing rhymes. In grades 1 to 3, they first learn words. Various types of lexical items, such as colors, animals, fruits, vegetables, food items, and very simple basic verbs are taught. However, the teaching of these items is through verses, games, songs, drawings, and not through an explicit book. In grade 4, they first learn to read and write the words they acquired in grades 1-3. In grade 5, they learn to read picture book stories written in German and are first taught basic grammar in playful ways. For example, they learn to conjugate the verbs through clapping and singing and game playing. In grade 6 more grammar structures are introduced gradually, but inductively rather than deductively. Grammar structures can be picked up through the reading of short stories with pictures. And in grade 7, more grammar is taught through the reading of longer stories.

The Waldorf learners are first exposed to the basic verb-second structure such as time adverb fronting followed by the verb starting in grade 5. The teacher never entirely follows a structure-based approach, but the children learned the construction through hearing and absorbing it from the teacher.

3.3. Predictions

3.3.1. Missing Inflection Hypothesis

Prediction 1

- The high proficient participants will exhibit quite a good command of the V2 construction in the production tasks. The majority of their verbs in second position will be finite.

Prediction 2

- The low-medium proficient participants will produce more English XSV sentences in the production task. Especially the very low proficient ones will not produce V2 sentences. Some of them may produce a mix of both V2, English (VO), and verb-final patterns (OV). Co-occurrence of finite and nonfinite verbs will be found in their production of both their verb-second and verb-final constructions.

3.3.2. Truncation Hypothesis

Prediction 3

- For the high proficient participants, the prediction is the same as for MIH, except that all verbs in second position will be finite.

Prediction 4

- For the low-medium group, the word order in initial L2 state will be XV (VP root) with infinitival verbal forms in final position. At the same stage, XSV (IP root) and XVS (CP root), in this case V2, can be found. If XVS (V2 structure) occurs in the production data, the verbal forms will be finite. The verbal forms in final positions (XV) will be nonfinite. The truncation stages are XV → XSV → XVS.

3.4. Methodology

The main experimental tasks comprise a Proficiency Measurement Task and two Elicited Production Tasks (EPT), in which 14 children participated. One child could not be present for the EPT due to sickness. The

tests were conducted one-on-one in either the library or an empty classroom at the Waldorf School. The investigator is not a native speaker of German but has near native capabilities. Both the EPT and Proficiency Measurement Task were recorded on audio-tapes and later transcribed.

Prior to the experimental tasks, there was a preliminary meeting with the potential subjects and the German teacher of these children to obtain an overall picture of their proficiency level and to gather a list of common lexical items and grammar structures that these children are familiar with. It was also important for the children to familiarize themselves with the investigator during this meeting. The Proficiency Measurement Test was conducted at the second meeting. The EPT was carried out at the third meeting. This is because the investigator was allowed to test the children only during their German lessons which lasted 40 minutes each.

3.4.1. Proficiency Measurement

Following Whong-Barr & Schwartz (2002) and Unsworth (2002), a Proficiency Measurement Task was carried out prior to the experimental tasks. For this, a picture description task which elicits the subjects' natural speech was conducted to measure the subjects' general proficiency level in German. The test is intended to gauge each subject's German proficiency independent of the grade level of the subject and their performance on the main experimental tasks. The results of this task can also be used for spotting any verb-second constructions or violations thereof.

The children were shown a short color picture book story with animals as the main characters. They were asked to tell a short story based on a series of about ten pictures from the picture book. They also described what they saw and what was taking place in the pictures. Most subjects took about ten minutes to tell the story, but a few required up to fifteen minutes to finish. These children were also the less proficient ones. The Proficiency Measurement Task was recorded on audio-tapes and later transcribed.

The results of this task are presented in Table 3. The range of the proficiency scores is 8.36 to 17.18. Case errors were excluded. Otherwise each subject's proficiency score would be much lower. Table 4 compares proficiency levels with and without case errors.

Table 3: Proficiency Measurement (error-free utterances *excluding* and *including* case errors)

Subj	G	Words	Utterance	CM	Error-free NC	AM	PS ¹	Error-free WC	AM	PS
BE	7	462	65	7.1	56	86.1%	21.39	29	44%	17.18
JE	7	426	83	5.6	66	80.0%	18.08	30	36%	13.68
DY	7	128	23	5.6	18	78.3%	17.91	11	48%	14.88
DA	7	197	38	5.2	32	84.2%	17.78	32	84%	17.76
VI	6	167	26	6.4	11	42.3%	15.75	4	15%	13.02
SI	5	236	40	5.9	18	48.6%	15.48	20	50%	15.62
HAY	5	361	62	5.8	29	46.8%	15.12	16	26%	13.04
HAR	5	179	30	5.9	12	40.0%	14.62	3	1%	11.62
MAT	7	264	46	5.7	12	28.3%	12.86	2	4%	14.26
MA	4	117	28	4.2	12	42.9%	11.85	6	21%	9.66
MI	4	115	20	5.7	3	15.0%	11.76	0	0%	10.26
KE	6	105	22	4.8	6	27.3%	11.37	2	9%	9.54
NI	5	136	30	4.5	7	23.3%	10.43	5	17%	9.08
KA	3	95	18	5.3	1	0.6%	10.14	0	0%	9.54
SA	3	84	31	2.7	14	45.2%	9.38	11	35%	8.36

Note. The following abbreviations are used in the table: G=grade, CM=Complexity measure, NC=no case (error-free utterances not including case errors), AM=Accuracy measure, PS=Proficiency score, WC=with case (error-free utterances including case errors).

Table 4: Comparison of ranking of subjects

Subj	G	Rank if case errors are excluded	Rank if case errors are included
BE	7	1	2
JE	7	2	6
DY	7	3	4
DA	7	4	1
VI	6	5	8
SI	5	6	3
HAY	5	7	7
HAR	5	8	9
MAT	7	9	5
MA	4	10	11
MI	4	11	10
KE	6	12	12
NI	5	13	14
KA	3	14	13
SA	3	15	15

The data from this task was used to calculate a global proficiency score, which consists of the combination of the following:

- 1) Complexity measure: The Medium Length of Utterances (MLU), i.e. the total number of words divided by the total number of utterances produced during the task.
- 2) Accuracy measure: The percentage of error-free utterances out of the total number of utterances. Error-free utterances are those that contain no morphological, syntactic, and lexical errors. All utterances that contain English words are not considered error-free. Phonological errors were disregarded.

At first, the accuracy scores in percentages were converted to decimal figures so that they are comparable to the MLU score. The ranges of the complexity and accuracy scores were calculated by subtracting the lowest score from the highest score. In this group of L2ers, the range of the complexity measure is 4.4 and that of the accuracy measure is 8.01. Then the range of accuracy is divided by the range of complexity to yield 1.8, which means that the accuracy measure is 1.8 times the range of the complexity measure. To obtain the global proficiency score, the complexity measure is multiplied by 1.8 and then the decimal number of the accuracy measure is added.

3.4.2. Proficiency Levels

Based on the results, the subjects were subdivided into three distinct groups:

- 1) Higher proficiency group (Range of PS: 17.78 – 21.39; BE, JE, DY, DA)
- 2) Medium proficiency group (Range of PS: 14.62 – 15.75; VI, SI, HAY, HAR)
- 3) Lower proficiency group (Range of PS: 9.38 – 12.86; MAT, MA, MI, KE, NI, KA, SA)

This subdivision is based on the subjects' proficiency scores, their age (and grade) and also the investigator's intuition of the approximate command of the German language of each participant.

3.5. Elicited Production Task (EPT)

To investigate and gather evidence for the competence and developmental pattern of V2 by the L2 learners, two different productions tasks were administered. Both tasks were set up to provide an appropriate context for the elicitation of V2.

3.5.1. Time PP Topicalization: 'Weekdays Activity Task'

3.5.1.a. Procedure

The children are shown a colorful calendar of the week with the days of the week written on it. They are asked to look at the calendar and orally list the various activities of their week, starting with Monday and ending with Sunday. They name two typical things they do on each day. The aim here is to elicit the topicalization of the time adverbial. Fronting of a time adverb is extremely common in German, as it is English. Talking about one's weekday activities is a very natural context for V2.

3.5.1.b. Results

The subjects' utterances have the following sentence patterns:

Table 5: Patterns in L2ers' word order structure with topicalization of a time PP

Word order	Example	n of subj
PP-SV	Am Sonntag ich schlafen (MI,10;3) On Sunday I sleep-INF	8
PP-SVO	Am Montag ich spiele Basketball (KE, 11;6) On Monday I play-1s basketball	
PP-OSV	Am Freitag Computer ich spielen (HAR,10;9) On Friday computer I play-INF	1
PP-OVS	Am Dienstag Cello übe ich (KE, 11;6) On Tuesday cello practice-1s I	2
PP-V	Am Montag gehen in ein Auto (MA, 10;2) On Monday go-INF in a car	3
PP-OV	Am Sonntag Vaters Auto waschen (VI, 12;4) On Sunday father car wash-INF	8
PP-SOV	Am Samstag ich Frühstück essen (HAY,11;4) On Saturday I breakfast eat-INF	6
PP-VS	Am Dienstag tauchen ich (VI, 12;4) On Tuesday dive-INF I	8
PP-VSO	Am Donnerstag mache ich Hausaufgaben On Thursday do-1s I homework (DY, 13;6)	

3.5.2 Direct Object Topicalization: 'Stuffed Animal Task'

After the Weekdays Activity Task, a little game called 'Stuffed Animals Activity' was conducted. This game is constructed so as to target the child's response using topicalization of the direct object. The structure in question here involves listing and topicalizing new information, which is also extremely common in German spoken discourse.

3.5.2.a. Procedure

The investigator gives the participants a bag with stuffed animals in it. The participants are asked to pretend to sit in their room with all their toys around them. They pretend that these stuffed animals are theirs and that the bag has been sitting in their room for quite a long time and taking up space. Their mom has recently told them to clean up their room and get rid of some of the stuffed animals as they no longer play with them. While they empty the stuffed animals out of the bag, a puppet shows up and says 'Hi, my name is Santa Claus the organizer. Your room is full of toys. I'm going to help you clean it up and organize your toys. Look at all the stuffed animals you have. What are you going to do with all of them? Which ones are you going to keep? Which ones are you going to give away? And which ones are you going to throw away?' The investigator asks the participants to look at each stuffed animal (each has its own name) and say what to do with it, whether to keep it, give it away, or throw it away. Three specific verbs are used: *behalten* 'keep-INF', *weggeben* 'give-INF away', and *wegschmeißen* or *wegwerfen* 'throw-INF away'. Before starting the activity, the investigator makes sure that the child participants know these three verbs. If they do not know the verb, the investigator

gives them the verbs in German in the infinitival form. All instructions are given in German. Only in the case that the child does not seem to comprehend the instructions are they then given in English.

3.5.2.b. Results Of The Procedure

The task went smoothly. The subjects seemed to enjoy this task the most. Some of them even acted it out very well. About half (seven) of the children, all those from grade 7, knew the verbs for 'keep', 'give away', and 'throw away' in German. Out of the other half (eight), five knew the verb 'give away' and some also knew 'throw away', but they did not know the verb 'keep'. Three of them did not know any of the verbs at all. The investigator gave these German verbs to the participants in the infinitival form. In German there are two verbs for 'throw', *schmeißen* and *werfen*, either one can be used. Those who knew the verb *werfen* used that; and, those who did not know the verb for 'throw' were given the verb *schmeißen* by the investigator.

3.5.2.c. Results And Discussion

The subjects started all the sentences with the name of the stuffed animal, thus showing that they know to topicalize the direct object. Their utterances have the following patterns:

Table 6: Patterns in L2ers' word order with topicalization of a direct object

Word order	Example	n of subj
OV	Susi behalten Susi keep-INF	2
OSV	Lusie ich behalte Lusie I keep	6
OVS	Susi behalte ich Susi keep I	11

3.6. Analysis

Examining the rate of verb inflection in Table 7 in the L2ers' V2 sentences gives us an even better insight to the developmental stages of the L2ers' acquisition of the V2 construction.

Table 7: Subject's percentage of V2 in production tasks, incl. inflection rate

Subject	Age	Proficiency score	% of V2 in WAT ^a	Inflection rate of V2 in SAT ^b	% of V2 in SAT	Inflection rate of V2 in SAT
BE	13;4	21.39	100	100%	100	100%
JE	13;2	18.08	92.9	100%	100	100%
DY	13;6	17.91	100	100%	63.7	71%
DA	14;0	17.78	84.6	100%	100	100%
VI	12;4	15.75	27.3	0%	100	18%
SI	11;0	15.48	0	0%	100	36%
HAY	11;4	15.12	0	0%	100	17%
HAR	10;9	14.62	0	0%	0	0%
MAT	13;11	12.86	42.9	67%	100	100%
MA	10;2	11.85	21.4	0%	91.6	17%
MI	10;3	11.76	12.5	100%	100	88%
KE	11;6	11.37	0	0%	66.6	33%
NI	10;11	10.43	0	0%	0	0%
KA	8;11	10.14	0	0%	0	0%

^aWAT = Weekdays Activities Task

^bSAT = Stuffed Animals Task

Subjects from the high proficiency group had both a high percentage of V2 and high rate of inflection in both the Weekdays and Stuffed Animal activities. Two subjects with the lowest proficiency scores (NI and KA) and one from the medium proficiency group (HAR) did not produce any V2 at all in both tasks. Those

from both the medium and low proficiency groups who had either 0% or $\leq 27\%$ V2 in the Weekdays Activities Task correspondingly showed a lower inflection rate of the verbs in their V2 construction (between 17-36% inflection), even if they could produce 66.6 – 100% V2 in the Stuffed Animals Task. Subject MI from the low proficiency group was one exception who achieved 88% inflection. In sum, the highly proficient students were consistently competent in V2 movement in both tasks, but subjects from the medium and lower proficiency levels were also competent in V2 movement when the direct object was topicalized, although their verb inflection was not correct.

3.6.1. Finiteness And Verb Placement

From all of the word order patterns produced by the participants, only the following patterns are analyzed as verb-second or verb-final and included for the counting of the form-position correlation (finite/nonfinite distinction and verb position).

Verb-second:	PP-VS, PP-VSO, OVS
Verb-final:	PP-OV, PP-SOV, OV

PP-SV, PP-SVO, OSV were excluded as these are transferred orders from English. PP-OSV were excluded as these were produced by only one subject. PP-OVS was excluded as it occurred only three times in the entire data. PP-V was excluded as it is ambiguous; it can be analyzed as SPPV, PPVS, or PPSV. There are not enough constituents to tell whether they are V2 or not. Only non-subject initial V2 clauses were counted since these necessarily implicate CP. There were no subject-initial V2 clauses (SVO orders) in the L2ers' utterances in the elicited production tasks.

The L2ers' verbal elements in each V2 and OV sentence were examined. The high proficiency group (four L2ers) produced altogether 80 verb-second and only 4 verb-final sentences. The low/medium proficiency group (ten L2ers) produced altogether 91 verb-second and 50 verb-final sentences. The results of verb finiteness are given in Table 8. For the sake of comparison, the results for the L2ers from Poeppel & Wexler's (1993) study are repeated in Table 9. (See Appendix B, Table B1 and B2 for results of each individual subject.)

Table 8: Finiteness and verb position of V2 by group

	High proficiency L2er group		Low/medium ^a proficiency L2er group ^b	
	[+finite]	[-finite]	[+finite]	[-finite]
Verb second	78	2	38	53
Verb final	3	1	9	41
Errors	5		64	

^aLow and medium proficiency groups are collapsed here as the difference in their use of verbal inflections is not so remarkable.

^bThere were no bare verbs in the L2ers' utterances.

Table 9. Finiteness and verb position of V2 by a L1 child (Andreas, 2;1)⁴

	[+finite]	[-finite]
Verb second	197	6
Verb final	11	37
Errors	17	

(Adapted from Poeppel & Wexler, 1993: p. 7)

3.7. Discussion

As the numbers in Tables 8 and 9 clearly show, the high proficiency L2ers pattern remarkably like the German L1er with regard to V2 and verb placement. Finites systematically appear in second clausal position. Analogous to a German L1er, the proficient L2ers produce fewer verb-final types than V2 patterns, 6% for L2ers compared to 19% for L1er. However, for high proficiency L2ers it is not the case that nonfinites systematically remain in final position. The German L1er is in the OI stage, a very common characteristic of L1 acquisition, but the highly proficient L2ers do not seem to be in an OI stage. They make very few errors with V2. This indicates that they have fully acquired the V2 construction.

The low/medium proficiency group's V2 patterns are more puzzling and more interesting. About one third more nonfinites than finites are in verb-second position. Table 10 shows the proportion of the low-medium proficiency L2ers' finiteness in their V2 utterances. The three that did not use any V2 are not included.

Table 10: low-medium proficiency L2ers' V2 finiteness

Subject	Age	Proficiency Score	% of finiteness
VI	12;4	15.75	14
SI	11;0	15.48	36
HAY	11;4	15.12	16
MAT	13;11	12.86	89
MA	10;2	11.85	14
MI	10;3	11.76	89
KE	11;6	11.37	33

The individual results indicate that all L2ers from this group exhibit an intermediate structure, alternating between [+finite] and [-finite] forms of the matrix verb. Nonfinites outweigh finites, except for two subjects, MI and MAT, who have almost all verbs in verb-second utterances inflected. This group has many more inflection errors (non-finites in V2 position) than the high proficiency one ($64/140 = 46\%$ versus $5/84 = 6\%$). The verb-final clauses also contain alternation between [+finite] and [-finite]. This clearly supports prediction 2: Co-occurrence of finite and nonfinite verbs is found in the production of both their verb-second and verb-final constructions.

These results suggest that it is not the Truncation Hypothesis but the Missing Inflection Hypothesis that can account for the higher proportion of nonfinites in verb-second position in the low-medium proficiency group. MIH postulates that L2ers have full projection of CP as they know the V2 movement. The inflection is just missing, i.e. they are in a stage of still having difficulty putting inflection on the verb arising out of the V2 movement. Interestingly, the same mapping problem occurs in their inflection of the verbs used in the English type (XSV). Of the 82 English type patterns from all L2ers, 47 have finite verbs and 35 have nonfinite verbs (see Appendix B, table B2). This is suggestive of the possibility that the MI stage manifests itself in both the transfer and the target pattern.

The production results indicate that the majority of the L2ers of German have mastered the V2 construction. The results also show that the learners are more competent for V2 structure in the topicalization of an object rather than of a time PP. This can be (speculatively) due to these reasons: the discrepancy between the results of the WAT and the SAT could most probably lie in the difference in nature and degree of difficulty in the two tasks. The participants achieve either a higher or complete rate of V2 construction in the SAT than they do in the WAT as the WAT is simply a more difficult task that involves more of a vocabulary retrieval burden. Subjects had to retrieve vocabulary items on the spot during the production and could thus have been swayed from the actual V2 movement of the verb. There was more processing pressure on this task. The SAT, however, requires minimal vocabulary retrieval as the task involves only three specific verbs and the fronted direct objects are not NPs with gender differentiations, proper names that were given to each stuffed animal, which the participant could clearly see and read from.³

3.8. Summary And Conclusion

The results suggest that there is no correlation between finiteness and verb placement., the reverse of what the Truncation Hypothesis predicted. For the low-medium proficiency group, infinitival verbs *do* appear in V2 patterns, i.e. before the subject or in finite contexts of CP projection. Nonfinite verbs are found in final position but many more of them appear in second position. The claim by TH that variation in finiteness is structurally determined and that certain morphological and syntactic phenomena are expected to co-occur, depending on the level of truncation, is not confirmed in this study's data.

The results of the low-medium proficiency group support prediction 2 and are much more consistent with MIH. The distributional properties of infinitival forms are consistent with MIH. There is more variability

in the placement of infinitival verbs as they are used as a substitute for finite inflection. Thus the data show that child L2 acquisition does not exhibit an RI phase. There is no relationship between finiteness and clause type. The mapping problem between syntax and morphology as suggested by Lardiere (2000) occurs in these L2ers of German. They have difficulties with the realization of inflectional morphology and use infinitival affixation (*hab-en*) in place of finite verbs. The high proficiency participants have successfully acquired V2 in German as they no longer have this mapping problem.

There *are* differences in child L1 German and child L2 German whose L1 is English. Child L2 acquisition does not exhibit an RI or OI phase. The findings suggest that form and position need to be separate in the case of child L2 acquisition.

Findings by Prevost's (1997) study on French-English, Italian-German child and adult L2ers show that child L2ers pattern with L1ers and adult L2ers behave differently with respect to finiteness and verb placement. The results from the present study's data contest Prevost's conclusion. Child L2ers behave like adult L2ers in this study's data, hence child L2's interlanguage is different from child L1. The data here have shown that unlike what has been reported so far in the literature on L2 acquisition, it is not just adult learners who exhibit missing inflections; child L2 learners do so too. This is a contribution that this study hopes to make.

NOTES

1. This is the proficiency score that will be used in this study.
2. The German L1 data used for comparison comes from spontaneous production unlike the experimental data of the L2ers in this study. Ideal would be a comparison to experimental German L1 data as well, but such data were simply unavailable as there was no access to very young native German L1ers.
3. There were certain individual cases:

Subject MI (low proficiency) consistently produced OSV structures only with the verb *behalten* 'keep' but consistently produced V2 structures with the verbs *weggeben* 'give away' and *wegschmeißen* 'throw away', which are separable-prefix-verbs. This implies that MI had a bias to the verb type.

Subject SI (medium proficiency) did not know any of the verbs and had difficulty remembering them during the task. SI overused the word *weg* 'away', producing it together with every verb. Hence, there were utterances such as *Lusie behalten ich weg* 'Lusie keep I away'. However, even using the verb SI did not know, SI was able to produce the V2 structure. The verb form was not target-like, but either uninflected or with wrong inflection.

Subject DY (high proficiency) had all the V2 structures right but towards the end, in the last three elicited utterances, DY produced OV with no subject. This could be due to distraction or excitement because DY was the one who wanted to act out this activity. DY actually threw away the stuffed animals DY chose to throw away.

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APPENDIX A

Table A1: Individual results for Time PP topicalization from the Weekdays Activities Task

	Sub-ject	Age	Total # of sentences	PP-(O)-V (child L1 Ger)	PP-S-O-V (child L1 Ger)	PP-O-V-S (other)	PP-O-S-V (Engl double T)	PP-S-V (English)	PP-V-S (V2)	% of V2 ¹	Proficiency score
High	BE	13;4	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	100%	21.39
	JE	13;2	14	1	0	0	0	0	13	92.9%	18.08
	DY	13;6	13	0	0	0	0	0	13	100%	17.91
	DA	14;0	12	0	0	0	0	2	9	84.6%	17.78
Medium	VI	12;4	11	8	0	0	0	0	3	27.3%	15.75
	SI	11;0	13	2	1	0	0	10	0	0%	15.48
	HAY	11;4	13	3	2	0	0	8	0	0%	15.12
	HAR	10;9	11	3	1	0	7	0	0	0%	14.62
Low	MAT	13;11	14	2	0	0	0	6	6	42.9%	12.86
	MA	10;2	14	3	0	1	0	7	3	21.4%	11.85
	MI	10;3	8	0	4	0	0	2	1	12.5%	11.76
	KE	11;6	13	3	3	2	0	5	0	0%	11.37
	NI	10;11	10	9	1	0	0	0	0	0%	10.43
	KA	8;11	7	0	0	0	0	7 ²	0	0%	10.14

Table A2: Individual results for direct object topicalization from the Stuffed Animals Task

	Sub-ject	Age	Total # of sentences	O-V (child L1 Ger)	O-S-V (English)	O-V-S (V2)	% of V2	Proficiency score
High	BE	13;4	9	0	0	9	100%	21.39
	JE	13;2	12	0	0	12	100%	18.08
	DY	13;6	11	0	4	7	63.7%	17.91
	DA	14;0	12	0	0	12	100%	17.78
Medium	VI	12;4	11	0	0	11	100%	15.75
	SI	11;0	11	0	0	11	100%	15.48
	HAY	11;4	12	0	0	12	100%	15.12
	HAR	10;9	13	0	13	0	0%	14.62
Low	MAT	13;11	12	0	0	12	100%	12.86
	MA	10;2	12	0	1	11	91.6%	11.85
	MI	10;3	12	0	0	12	100%	11.76
	KE	11;6	12	0	4	8	66.6%	11.37
	NI	10;11	12	4	8	0	0%	10.43
	KA	8;11	11	11	0	0	0%	10.14

¹ The percentage of V2 was calculated by dividing the number of utterances with V2 by the total number of utterances.² From subject KA's 7 sentences, 5 have an English verb in them. KA also said the subject in English, e.g. *Am Mitwoch I cook*.

APPENDIX B

Table B1: Distribution of V2 finites and nonfinites in the elicited production tests

Subj.	Age	Proficiency score	Weekdays Activities Task (WAT)			Stuffed Animals Task (SAT)			TOTAL V2		
			n of v.u. in WAT	Total V2	[+fin] V2	[-fin] V2	n of v.u. in SAT	Total V2	[+fin] V2	[-fin] V2	Total V2 in WAT & SAT
BE	13;4	21.39	5	5	5	0	9	9	9	0	14
JE	13;2	18.08	14	13	13	0	12	12	12	0	25
DY	13;6	17.91	13	13	13	0	11	7	5	2	20
DA	14;0	17.78	12	9	9	0	12	12	12	0	21
VI	12;4	15.75	11	3	0	3	11	11	2	9	14
SI	11;0	15.48	13	0	0	0	11	11	4	7	11
HAY	11;4	15.12	13	0	0	0	12	12	2	10	12
HAR	10;9	14.62	11	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0
MAT	13;11	12.86	14	6	4	2	12	12	12	0	18
MA	10;2	11.85	14	3	0	2 ³	12	11	2	9	14
MI	10;3	11.76	8	1	1	0	12	8	7	1	9
KE	11;6	11.37	13	0	0	0	12	12	4	8	12
NI	10;11	10.43	10	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0
KA	8;11	10.14	7	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0

v.u. = verbal utterances

³ One verb is in English, *riding*, which is [-fin] in English. But as this English verb occurs in a German utterance, the finiteness of its form cannot be determined.

Table B2: Distribution of verb-final (XOV) and English type (XVO) finites and nonfinites in both production tasks

Subj.	Proficiency score	Total of verb-final	[+fin]	[-fin]	Total of English Type	[+fin]	[-fin]
BE	21.39				6	6	
JE	18.08	1		1			
DY	17.91	3	3		1	1	
DA	17.78				3	3	
VI	15.75	6		6			
SI	15.48	3	1	2	10	8	2
HAY	15.12	5		5	8	8	
HAR	14.62	2		2	20		20
MAT	12.86	2		2	6	6	
MA	11.85	0			8	4	3
MI	11.76	4		4	6	4	2
KE	11.37	5	5		5	5	
NI	10.43	12	3	9	8		8
KA	10.14	11		11	7 ⁴	2	0

⁴ KA did not know and remember the verbs in German, thus out of these 7 verbs, KA used 5 English verbs. Finiteness cannot be determined due to KA's use of English verbs.

SIMULTANEOUS COMPOUNDS IN TAIWANESE SIGN LANGUAGE

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曾士芬、邱振豪

Descriptions [i.e., language-like representations] are distinguished from depictions [i.e., pictorial representations] not through being more arbitrary but through belonging to articulate [i.e., discrete] rather than to dense [i.e., continuous] schemes... (Goodman, 1968, pp. 230-231)

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates the morphology of simultaneous compounds in Taiwanese Sign Language (TSL). It will be seen that the visual spatial modality allows for more simultaneously occurring morphemes, since many signs display meaning through picture-like representations. These representations can have their parts represented with both hands, parts of the face and head and the rest of the body (mostly upper body). In addition, we will also demonstrate that morphemes in sign language are iconic to a much greater extent than those of spoken language. This supports the claim that languages are as iconic as possible within their respective modality (Armstrong, 1983; Brennan, 1990; Liddell, 1992; Taub, 2001, p. 61).

Section two of this paper defines the terms to be used in the paper. Section three introduces the data and section four concludes the paper. The source for our sign data is Shou Neng Sheng Qiao I and II (手能生橋 I & II; 1998).

2.0. COMPOUNDS, WORDS AND MORPHEMES

2.1. Compounds

According to Liddell and Johnson (1986), compounds differ from phrases in that they are words. One of the properties that can distinguish words from phrases is that grammatical functions cannot see inside words. Examples of what this means can be seen below for English and Chinese.

1. Grammar Cannot Affect Parts of a Compound

- | | | |
|----|--------------|---|
| a. | housewife | *big housewife (meaning the wife of a big house) |
| b. | 高山 | *很高山 |
| | gaoshan | *hen gaoshan |
| | tallmountain | *very tallmountain (meaning a very tall mountain) |

As can be seen in the example above, morphological operations cannot occur on parts of compounds. Thus, morphological processes work on the compound as if it were one word.

In addition, the second property of compounds is that their meanings are not compositional. This means that though a compound's parts may both have their own respective meanings, the meaning of the compound cannot usually be determined from just the sum of the parts. Thus, although the word HOUSEWIFE means A WIFE WHO STAYS AT HOME, it could also mean A WIFE WHO OWNS A HOUSE or A HOUSE'S WIFE. It is interesting to note that this property does not necessarily apply to all compounds. In our example gaoshan, the meaning is compositional. Below are some examples of compounds in Chinese that are and aren't compositional in meaning.

2. Chinese Compounds
 - a. Compositional Meanings
 - i. 大火
dahuo
big + fire
"big fire"
 - ii. 校長
xiao Zhang
school + manager
"principal"
 - b. Noncompositional Meanings
 - i. 小朋友
xiao pengyou
small+friend
"child"
 - ii. 老大
laoda
old + big
"oldest child"
 - iii. 花生
huasheng
flower + birth
"peanut"

Thus, sometimes it isn't so easy to draw a line for where compositional compounds end and noncompositional compounds begin. Perhaps their differences can be better represented by thinking of the sum of meaning in compounds as being along a continuum. See Figure 1.

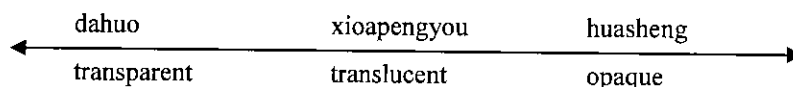


Figure 1. Compositional Semantics of compounds: Chinese examples.

If the morphemes of a compound combine clearly to form its meaning then the compound is said to be transparent as in examples (2.a.i.) and (2.a.ii.). An example of a transparent compound in TSL would be TOOTH (B1 p. 162, 8-564)¹ which is composed of the morphemes POINT TO + TEETH. If the parts of the compound combine to form a meaning that is hard to determine at first glance but which does make intuitive sense, then the compound is said to be translucent as in examples (2b.i.) and (2b.ii.). An example of a translucent compound in TSL would be that of GECKO (B2 p. 125, 7-373) which is composed of the morphemes WALL + TIGER CRAWLING UP AND DOWN. If the parts of the compound seem to have no relation to the meaning of the compound then the compound is said to be opaque such as example (2b.iii.). An example of an opaque compound in TSL would be DULL (B2 p. 85, 5-256) which is composed of two MAN morphemes, one of which rubs back and forth on the top of the other.²

2.2. Simultaneous Compounds

Simultaneous compounds are compounds in which more than one morpheme occur simultaneously. Due to the nature of the spoken modality, it is difficult to find examples of simultaneous compounds in spoken language. An example includes the English stress shift between some noun and verb pairs (résearch (V) and reséarch (N))³. The stress in this example indicates the grammatical class of the word. However, it is worth noting that these compounds are all rather opaque in their meanings since there is no inherent meaning in stress or tone.

Taiwanese Sign Language, on the other hand, is abundant with simultaneous compounds. In addition, most of these compounds have morphemes which are iconic in meaning. It is first worth noting that like any other category, there is a fuzzy boundary between simultaneous and sequential compounds. At one end of the spectrum are pure simultaneous compounds. These are compounds with at least two morphemes which occur simultaneously and cannot be divided into sequential parts. An example would be INDIAN (B2 p. 7, 1-17), where one hand is in front of the mouth imitating an Indian call and the other hand is on the head imitating the feathers of their head dress.

In the middle of the spectrum are signs which could be divided sequentially but are more likely simultaneous in nature. For example, MARRIAGE (B1 p. 28, 1-11) could be interpreted sequentially as two simultaneous compounds: WOMAN SEPARATE FROM MAN + WOMAN TOGETHER WITH MAN. However, since the movement between the two parts is integral to the meaning JOINING TOGETHER, this compound is most likely more simultaneous than sequential. In addition, unlike the morphemes for MAN and WOMAN which are well established in TSL, WOMAN SEPARATE FROM MAN and WOMAN TOGETHER WITH MAN are not morphemes in TSL.

Further down the spectrum are compounds such as BLUSH (B2 p. 10, 1-33). This compound could be viewed as the sequential combination of two simultaneous compounds (POINT TO LIP (RED) + COVER FACE). It is more prototypically sequential since the movement between morphemes is not meaningful to the compound. An example of a sequential compound which is not composed of simultaneous morphemes is WHERE, which is the combination of WHAT and PLACE⁴.

2.3. Morphemes, Cranberry Morphs And Morphs

There are two concepts needed to understand the difference between words and morphemes. The first is frequency and the second is productivity. Frequency is concerned with how many times a sequence of sounds with a consistent meaning will occur in a language. This concept is also the same as asking how many tokens of a sign sequence occur in the language. If it is frequent or has enough tokens, for instance, it will be found in dictionaries for the language. Sound sequences which occur freely and frequently in a language are called words.

Most sound sequences must occur frequently if they are to be accepted as words by speakers of a language. However, there are some words that occur only once in a language and which have meaning intrinsic to their form. These types of morphemes are iconic in nature and include imitations of sounds such as in the sentence "When she saw the snake, she went [SCREAM]" (Langacker, 1987, p. 61). In this case, the word can have a recognizable meaning without the aid of frequency among speakers.

Below, we see a continuum for types of words can be drawn in two dimensions, one dimension being that of frequency and the other being that of iconicity.

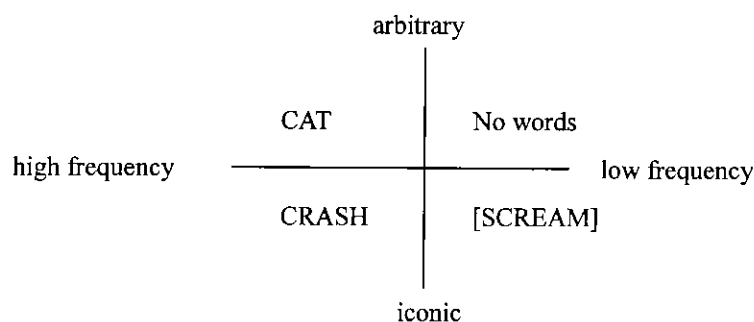


Figure 2. Possible Continuum for English Words

As taken from Taub (2001, p. 66), CRASH is iconic in that its pronunciation mimics the sound of an actual crash. There are no words listed for arbitrary and low frequency, but you could make up a word right now to represent some designated meaning. This word would only be understood by you and has no large communicative value unless others accept and learn it as well. Once others start using the word, however, then the word becomes frequent. It makes intuitive sense that words which are not iconic in nature must be frequent in order to have meaning. In addition, it also makes sense that words which are iconic in nature do not necessarily have to be frequent in order to have meaning.

A sequence of sounds is productive if it appears with a consistent meaning in at least two different high frequency words, one of those words optionally being the word itself in free form. Productivity is important in defining a morpheme because it enables us to determine a meaning for the morpheme. Thus, the English word MAN is determined to have a specific meaning but the WO of WOMAN is not. This is because the WO of WOMAN only appears in this one word, and thus has a meaning that is defined by being a part of the word itself. For instance, the WO in WOMAN could mean any number of things: SMARTER THAN A, OPPOSITE FROM A, NOT A, THE OTHER KIND OF PERSON BESIDES A and so on. We cannot construct a meaning for WO because it is unproductive; it only occurs in this one word.

The type of morpheme that has no meaning apart from that of the word which it is a part of is called a cranberry morph, exemplified by the CRAN in CRANBERRY. A cranberry morph must be located in a word with a morpheme which is productive in the language and which contributes meaning to the word. Thus, the BERRY in CRANBERRY has a meaning which can be traced to words such as BERRY, STRAWBERRY, BLUEBERRY, etc.

This combination of productive and nonproductive morphemes is important because it eliminates words such as CARROT from being considered composed of cranberry morphs. It could be hypothesized that CARROT consists of two morphemes: CAR⁵ and ROT. CAR has no meaning in and of itself but ROT does. However, we do not consider CAR to be a cranberry morph because ROT, meaning DECAY, does not have any relation to the meaning of the possible compound. Thus, we consider CARROT to be one morpheme.

However, there are words such as REMIT, PERMIT, RESIST and PERSIST⁶ which have morphemes that do not have recognizable meanings. Since RE-, PER-, -MIT and -SIST occur in more than one word, they are productive. However, their meanings are opaque to speakers, thus making them seem less like morphemes. They are different from cranberry morphs, in that cranberry morphs only occur in one word. However, they are similar to cranberry morphs since their meanings seem dependent on the particular word that they are in. This of course could be related to the historical fact that these morphemes used to have meanings derived from Latin. However, etymology doesn't help speakers understand their meanings. In this paper we will call these types of sound sequences "morphs".

In summary, segments which are productive (in that they occur in at least two words and have the same meaning in each instance) are called morphemes. Segments which are bound to morphemes and unproductive are called cranberry morphs. Morphs are what we will call segments which are productive in the sense that they occur in more than one word but have meanings that are not clearly understood by speakers. Figure 3 is a diagram of English morphemes along the productivity and iconicity dimensions.

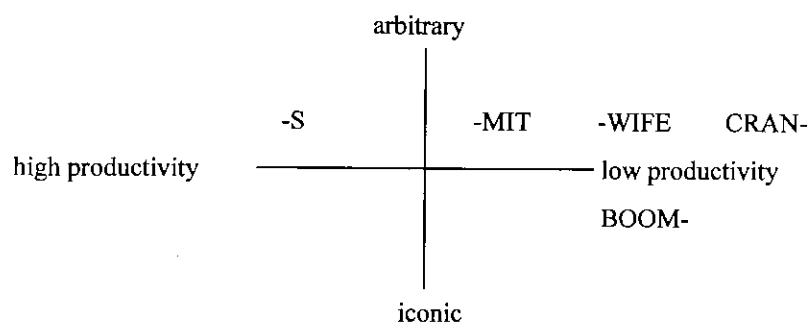


Figure 3. Possible Continuum for English Morphemes

The morpheme -S is the plural morpheme found productively in most English nouns. The morpheme BOOM occurs in words like BOOMBOX and BOOM. We have already talked about CRAN- as being a cranberry morph. It is less productive than the -MIT in PERMIT and the -WIFE in HOUSEWIFE.

Figure 3 doesn't directly address the issue of meaning. It seems there may be a relationship between productivity and semantics. This is because -S is extremely productive and also has a very clear meaning. In addition, cranberry morphs are completely unproductive and have no meaning by themselves. However, the productivity of morphs isn't necessarily less than that of morphemes. In addition, the WIFE morpheme in HOUSEWIFE isn't that productive but its meaning is very clear. Thus, we will plot words, morphemes, morphs and cranberry morphs in the continuum found in Figure 4.

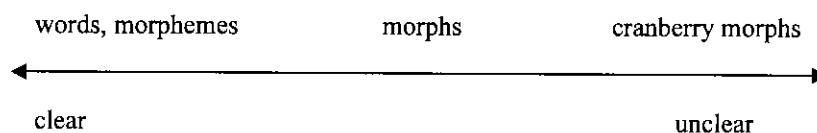


Figure 4. Semantic continuum for sound sequences

It is possible that morphemes which can occur freely in the language will always have clear meanings. In addition, morphemes which never occur freely have meanings which are dependent on productivity. This is a domain open for further investigation.

2.4. Lexicalized Phonological Remnants

Liddell and Johnson (1986, p. 502) use the term 'lexicalized phonological remnant' (LPR) to further differentiate morphemes. They believe that forms that do not contribute to the meaning of complex words or idioms are LPRs. Their examples are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparing Aronoff's morpheme with our LPR.

Word	Aronoff's analysis		L&J's analysis	
	Morphemes		LPR's	Morphemes
remit	2		2	1
retype	2		0	2
catnip	2		2	1
cats	2		0	2

(Reproduced from Liddell and Johnson, 1986, p.502)

Thus, since the RE- and -MIT in REMIT seem to be morphemes but don't add meaning to the compound, they are considered to be LPRs. REMIT has one morpheme, and that is its full compound form. CATNIP is also considered to be constructed out of two LPRs since its meaning cannot be derived by adding CAT- and -NIP together. The RE-, -TYPE, CAT- and -S morphemes of RETYPE and CATS are considered to be morphemes and not LPRs because they have meanings which are clearly derived from the meanings of their parts.

This is similar to our morphs category. However, LPRs and morphs differ in that the CAT- of CATNIP would be considered a morpheme in our framework. This is because it does have a relationship to the word it is in and its meaning is very clear to speakers. In addition, we would consider -NIP to be a cranberry morph since it is unproductive and appears with a morpheme.

From Liddell and Johnson's discussion of LPRs, it seems that most compounds are combinations of LPRs as opposed to morphemes. For instance, they have the examples BLACKBOARD, BREAKFAST, BREAKNECK and BREAKWATER all listed as being built of LPRs. BLACKBOARD consists of LPRs because BLACKBOARDS can be green or blue, and are not necessarily black anymore. They note that sound changes that occur to morphemes will spread throughout the language, but sound changes that occur to LPRs will only affect that one LPR. Thus, the pronunciation of BREAK- in BREAKFAST is different from that of the morpheme BREAK and the BREAK- LPR in words such as BREAKNECK or BREAKWATER.

It would seem from Liddell and Johnson's discussion that they are trying to separate the lexicon from the productive processes of the syntax. Thus, RE- and the plural -S marker are very productive in the language and are parts of the syntax. Whereas forms such as those found in compounds are lexicalized and not necessarily predicted through summation of their parts. One question one might pose is whether HOUSEWIFE is one morpheme or two. Although the meaning of HOUSEWIFE is more compositional than CATNIP, it is not necessarily the case that HOUSE + WIFE will equal our current meaning for HOUSEWIFE. Thus, would Liddell and Johnson call this a morpheme or two LPRs?

Instead of using Liddell and Johnson's notion of LPR, we will be investigating the nature of compounds in TSL using the concepts of words, morphemes, morphs and cranberry morphs. These are concepts which we defined in terms of semantics, productivity and iconicity. Since these are not measured on a binary scale of yes and no, they will have degrees of fuzziness.

2.5. Conclusion

As defined above, we claim that a word is defined in terms of frequency and consistency of meaning, where only iconic words can be infrequent. Morphemes are productive sound sequences in the language. Cranberry morphs are unproductive sound sequences which occur with morphemes that are semantically related to the word. Morphs are productive sound sequences that are semantically unclear.

Simultaneous compounds are words that contain more than one morpheme occurring at the same time. In addition, in TSL, motion can contribute to the meaning of the compound (e.g. MARRIAGE). Meanwhile, there is a continuum between transparent, translucent and opaque simultaneous compounds. In this paper we will be adopting notions of productivity and iconicity in describing morphemes, rather than Liddell and Johnson's LPRs.

3.0. DATA

3.1. Transparent And Translucent Compounds

Whether a compound is transparent or translucent is often dependent on the speaker. Since there is no boundary line between transparency and translucency of compounds, we will not try to separate these two categories in this section.

3.1.1. Composed Of Highly Productive Morphemes

The compounds listed in Table 2 are transparent or translucent compounds which are all composed of

morphemes which are highly productive. We show where these types of morphemes are located on our productivity and iconicity continuum in Figure 5. They may be more arbitrary than iconic (e.g. WOMAN), or they may be very iconic (e.g. ONE). Table 2 attempts to list compounds in terms of how iconic their morphemes are with less iconic morphemes listed at the top (e.g. WOMAN) and more iconic morphemes listed near the bottom (e.g. ONE).

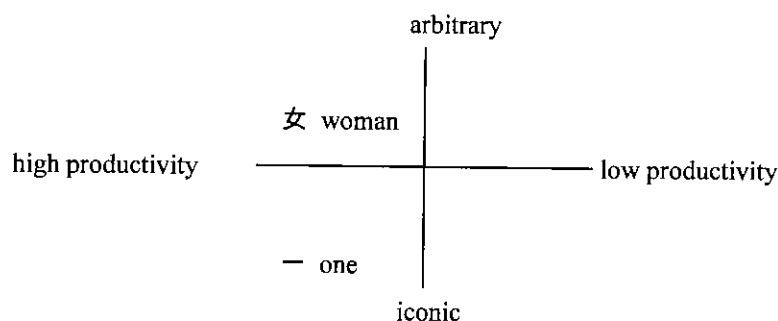


Figure 5. Continuum for TSL Morphemes

Table 2. Transparent/Translucent Compounds: Both Morphemes are Productive (less iconic to more iconic)

Sign	Morpheme	Morpheme	Motion	Reference
結婚 marriage	男 man	女 woman	“男”“女”互相貼近 move together	B1 p.28 1-11
離婚 divorce	男 man	女 woman	“男”“女”由貼近再拉開 move apart	B1 p.28 1-12
民族	民 person	民 person	左右“民”相對，向下畫圓圈 move in opposite directions to make a circle	B2 p.5 1-2
祖先 ancestors	民 person	民 person	左右“民”相對，右“民”畫圈向上移 touch then one hand moves up above the other in half circular movements	B2 p.5 1-4
摩天輪 ferris wheel	民 person	民 person	左右“民”相對繞圈 alternating circular movement on the vertical plane in a forward direction from the body	B2 p.70, 4-224
民族 nation	民 person	民 person	雙手以“民”畫圈 the two person hands move in alternating circular motions outward from the chest	B2 p.5 1-2
歷史 history	民 person	民 person	左右“民”掌心相對，往上下拉開 the palms of the two person hands meet in front of the chest, then one hand moves up and the other moves down	B1 p.151 7-521
會議 meeting	男 man	男 man	左右“男”手指相碰幾下 hands touch repeatedly at the palms	B1 p.80 3-238
處罰 punish	男 man	男 man	右“男”由上對壓左“男”(不動)One MAN morpheme is upside down over the other with its head hitting the other's head repeatedly	B2 p.132 7-420
依靠 lean	男 man	男 man	一個拇指依靠另一個拇指 One MAN hand leans against the base of the thumb of the other MAN hand	B1 p.196 10-712
跟隨 follow	男 man	男 man	拇指一前一後前進 a MAN hand is in back of and touching the other MAN hand, the second MAN hand moves with the first	B1 p.196 10-713

賽跑 race	男 man	男 man	兩拇指一前一後互動 two MAN hands move forward from and back to the chest in alternating motions	B1 p.112 5-362
比賽 compete	男 man	男 man	拇指一高一低來回互動 two MAN hands moved up and down in alternating motions	B1 p.112 5-361
告訴 tell	告訴 tell	男 man	“零”對“男”重複打開 one hand starts closed and the opens as it moves toward the thumb of the MAN hand	B1 p.78 3-226
單身漢 / 女 bachelor/ bachelorette	男/女	錢 money	右“錢”套左“男/女” the MONEY hand moves onto the thumb of the MAN hand or the pinky of the WOMAN hand	B2 p. 8 1-22,23
經濟 economy	錢 money	錢 money	左右“錢”互相轉動 two hands move in alternating circular movements on a flat plane extended from the chest.	B1 p. 67 3-160
買 buy	給 give	錢 money	右“錢”在後，左“手”掌心向上，互相更換位置 money moves away from the signer and the give sign moves toward the signer	B1 p. 67 3-157
賣 sell	錢 money	給 give	右“錢”在前，左“手”掌心向上，互相更換位置 money moves toward the signer and the give sign move away from the signer	B1 p. 67 3-158
存 錢 save money	錢 money	手 hand	“錢”放置於掌心，再向上提升 money rises from the hand	B2 p. 13 1-52
銀行 bank	錢 money	房子 house	左右“錢”合成三角形 two hands join to make the roof of a house, the index and thumb of each hand link in a circle	B1 p.33 1-41
補 償 compensate	錢 money	手 hand	右“錢”自腰處放左“手”上 money moves onto hand	B2 p. 114 6-358
用 use	錢 money	手 hand	“錢”由“手”掌心向外擦出 money moves off hand	B1, p. 67 3-161
謙虛 humble	女 woman	心 heart	“女”在心前碰撞 the WOMAN morpheme moves toward and rests on the heart position of the chest	B1 p.182 9-654
看 inspect	看 to see	眼睛 eyes	“廿”掌心朝內，在眼前繞動 the index and middle finger are bent and facing the face, they move around the eyes in large circles	B1 p.75 3-208
第 一 名 first place	一 one	男 man	食指觸碰拇指後再向上提 the index finger, with palm facing the chest, starts touching the base of the thumb of the MAN hand and then moves up	B1 p.153 7-529
半 half	刀 knife	一 one	右“一”從左“一”向下切 use index finger to cut the other index finger in half	B1 p.116 5-384
轉 revolve	一 one	一 one	雙手的“一”互繞 the top finger moves in circles around the top of the bottom one	B1 p. 197 10-717
吵架 quarrel	一 one	一 one	左右“一”在胸前重複相打 two index fingers rub against each other	B1 p.196 10-716
參加 come to participate	一 one	一 one	左右“一”掌心向內，在胸前輪流重複畫圈 two index fingers alternately move in circular motions toward the body	B1 p.196 10-715

追 chase	— one	— one	左右”——前一後的同時前進 one index finger chases behind the other one, they both move forward away from the body	B1 p.196 10-714
對於、遇到、碰到 regarding, to meet, to bump into	— one	— one	兩食指相對 two ONE hands touch together	B1 p.157 7-557
程度 degree	— one	— one	右”——在左”——背上重複上下移動 one index rests perpendicularly on the other index and moves up and down along it	B1 p.150 7-511
元旦 New Year's Day	一月 January	一日 1 st	左右“——”上下放，同時樣內一轉 the ONE fingers rotate from palm in the palm out, one is place up to the left and the other down to the right in front of the chest	B2 p. 27 2-78
麵 noodles	碗 bowl	筷子 chopsticks	“同”做碗狀，“二”做筷子狀在碗跟口中重複來回移動 move chopsticks from bowl to mouth	B1 p.131 6-433
夾菜 pick up (food)	碗 bowl	筷子 chopsticks	“二”在“同”中做夾東西狀，重複來回 one hand is in a bowl shape, the other is the index and middle which move down toward the bowl repetitively	B2 p. 49 3-148
痛 body ache	痛 pain	身體的任何一個部分 body part	“同”放在痛處 one hand opens from a claw shape to an open hand shape repeatedly over the body part which hurts	B1 p.127 6-409
聽說 I have heard that ...	告訴 tell	耳朵 ear	右“零”掌心朝右重複打開 one hand starts closed and opens as it moves toward the ear	(A)B1 p.102 4-330

3.1.2. Unproductive And Highly Iconic Morphemes

In addition to compounds formed by highly productive morphemes, we also find that TSL has many compounds which are formed by two unproductive but highly iconic morphemes. These types of morphemes are not typically found in spoken language and their place on our continuum is indicated in Figure 6.

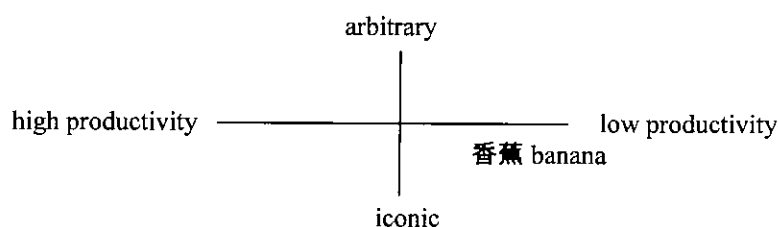


Figure 6. Continuum for TSL Morphemes

In the morpheme BANANA, the index finger is extended up to represent the banana. This is not a productive morpheme for BANANA and only occurs within this sign. However, it is very iconic since the action that accompanies it is a banana peeling motion. Thus, though this morpheme is not productive, its meaning is very easy to interpret since the sign is very iconic in nature. Examples of these types of compounds are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Transparent/Translucent Compounds: Both morphemes are unproductive and highly iconic

Sign	Morpheme	Morpheme	Motion	Reference
香蕉 banana	剝 peeling	香蕉 banana	“難”繞“兄”做剝香蕉狀 index finger extends vertically and the other hand makes banana peeling motions	B1. p.130 6-431
火箭 rocket	火箭 rocket	煙 smoke	“一”立於“零”手背上再上下拉開，同時“零”打開 the rocket hand is an extended index finger moving up while the smoke is the other hand opening up and moving down.	B1 p.170 8-611
冰淇淋 ice cream	舔 lick	冰淇淋 ice cream	舌頭舔冰淇淋狀 pretending to lick an ice cream cone	B1 p.132 6-439
汽水 soda pop	拉環 bottle opener	瓶子 bottle	“二”在“零”上做開瓶狀 The index finger and middle finger pry open the bottle cap of the container in the other hand.	B1 p. 131 6-438
包 wrap	包 wrap	物品 thing	“同”包住“拳” One hand is a fist representing the thing wrapped and the other hand moves around it in a wrapping motion	B2 p. 35 2-130
乒乓球 ping pong	拍子 paddle	球 ball	“手”重複來回拍擊“零” One open hand is the paddle moving back and forth, hitting the other hand which is shaped like a ball and moving with the paddle	B2 p. 127 7-387
葡萄 grapes	葡萄 grape	葡萄 grape	左右“錢”相接，往下移並互換位置 the index and thumb of each hand link to form a grape shape, then they rotate backwards and forwards from the body touching together in a downward motion	B2 p. 50 3-153
燙 to iron	燙 iron	燙衣板 iron board	“手”心朝上，“拳”自右移到左“手”上方 one hand pretends to hold an iron and iron back and forth while the other hand is open with palm facing up representing the iron board	B2 p. 110 6-334
日出 / 日落 sunrise / sunset	太陽 sun	地面 ground	“手”掌心朝下，“句”掌心朝左在其外，由下往上升 One hand uses the open thumb and index to represent the sun, the other hand is open palm down and represents the ground. The sun hand goes up past the ground or down depending on whether it's a sunrise or a sunset	B2 p. 28 1-86 p. 28 1-87
鑰匙 key	鑰匙 key	門 door	左“手”掌心朝右，另一隻手做鑰匙開門狀 The palm of the left open hand is facing right, the other hand is pretending it has a key and is opening the door created by the left hand	B1 p.165 8-577
牙刷 toothbrush	刷 brush	牙 teeth	“一”做牙刷狀在嘴邊做刷牙狀 The ONE handshape makes brushing motions over teeth	B2 p. 108 6-325
跪 kneel	跪 two legs kneeling	地面 ground	“廿”放在“手”心 two legs represented by the index and middle fingers bend down at the knuckles on the ground created by the open hand which is palm face up.	B2 p. 11 1-42
報紙 newspaper	首頁 top page	底頁 bottom page	左右手被相疊，右手臂抬起 two forearms are placed flat on top of one another, the top forearm, with the elbow as pivot, then rises up to a vertical position	B1 p. 81 3-242
電視 TV	動畫 moving picture	螢幕 screen	“手”在“方”前移動 an open hand with palm facing chest is moving up and down within a half frame created by the other hand	B1 p. 81 3-243

吻 kiss	頭 head	頭 head	左右“零”相碰重複轉動 fingers touch together and the hands rotate back and forth in alternating motions	B1 p. 112 5-358
毛筆 writing brush	筆端 brush tip	毛 , 刷 brush	“手”重複摸“民”小指 the index finger makes repetitive brushing motions over the teeth	B1 p.166 8-584
葉子 leaf	葉脈 index	葉 leaf shape	“一”在“六”內重複上下擺動 the one finger with palm facing the body moves back and forth within the space between the other hand's thumb and index finger	B1 p. 94 4-286

3.1.3. One Morpheme Is Highly Productive, The Other Is Unproductive

There are also compounds in TSL which are composed of one productive morpheme and one unproductive morpheme. These are listed in Table 4. Those compounds listed at the top are those with a very iconic unproductive morpheme, whereas those listed at the bottom have less iconic unproductive morphemes.

Table 4. Transparent/Translucent Compounds: One Unproductive morpheme (more iconic to less iconic)

Sign	Productive	Unprod.	Motion	Reference
傀儡 puppet	男 man	傀儡 支架 puppet holder	“手”掌心朝下，“男”在其下晃動 hand is over the man and moving up and down as if it were holding a puppet	B2 p.70 4-225
山洞 cave	男 man	洞 cave	“方”掌心朝下，“男”由下穿過 one hand is open with thumb and fingers opposed and facing downwards to form a cave, the other hand is in the MAN hand shape and moves through the cave	B1 p.169 8-606
殺 kill	男 man	砍 chop	“手”切“男”拇指 use hand to cut off the man marker's head	B2 p.132 7-418
副 subordinate	男 man	副 vice	“副”依靠在拇指下 One MAN hand leans a bent thumb against the base of the other MAN hand's thumb	B1 p.157 7-556
慈 祥 kindness	男 man	關心 care for	掌心摩擦拇指 hand is rubbing the thumb of the man marker in circular motions	B2 p.73 4-240
招待 服務 service	男 man	關心 care for	兩掌掌心相摩擦 the open hand rubs on the MAN hand's palm	B2 p.72 4-233
愛 love	男 man	關心 care for	掌心摩擦掌背 the palm of the open hand rubs the back of the MAN hand, the palm of which is facing the chest	B2 p. 80 3-235
推 push	男 man	推 push	“手”將“男”往外推 an open hand pushes the MAN hand out away from the body	B2 p. 114 6-356
幫忙 help	男 man	幫忙 help	掌心拍擊掌背 the palm of the open hand pats the back of the MAN hand, the palm of which is facing the chest	B1 p.79 3-229
鼓 勵 encourage	男 man	拍 pat	掌心拍擊手掌底部(ulnar) the open hand pats up on the bottom of the MAN hand	B2 p. 113 6-351
尊敬 respect	男 man	推 push	掌心上推手掌底部 the open hand lifts the MAN hand up from the bottom	B2 p. 10 1-36
抓 catch	男 man	抓 catch	“同”迅速碰“男”，同時變成“拳” an open hand moves down onto the MAN hand, when it reaches the hand it closes into a fist and rests on the hand	B2 p. 12 1-47
孤獨 alone	男 man	孤 獨 alone	手繞拇指轉 one open hand moves in circles around the MAN hand showing there's no one around	B2 p. 85 5-255

領導 lead	男 man	群 眾 masses	“五”掌心朝下跟在“男”後一起移動 a MAN hand moves forward with an open hand with palm facing down following it from behind.	B2 p. 111-41
使 cause to	男 man	使 cause	“一”在後指向拇指並一起同時前進 MAN hand moves forward with an extended index finger from the other hand following it from behind	B1 p.112 5-359
溜滑梯, 滑 slide	民 person	滑 slide	“民”在手背由上往下滑動 the PERSON hand slides down the back of the other open hand which is slanted up like a slide.	B2 p. 128 7-395
盪鞦韆 swing	民 person	椅子 chair	“民”在“棕”上晃動 the PERSON hand sits on the CHAIR hand of the other hand, the CHAIR moves in a swinging motion back and forth	B2 p.128 7-394
躺 to lie down	民 person	地 面 ground	“民”放到手背上 the PERSON hand sits on the back of the open hand and lies down on its hand's back	B2 p.112 6-345
弱 weak	民 person	地 面 ground	將“民”立於掌心中, 並抖動 the PERSON hand is standing by its pinky finger on the palm up open hand, the PERSON hand is moving around in circles with the pinky as pivot	B1 p.181 9-649
打 hit	民 person	打 hit	“一”重複敲在“民”的小指上 the one hand hits the little finger of the person hand	B1 p.111 5-353
車 子 car, bus	車子 car	地 面 ground	“手”垂直放在另一“手”上互相摩擦 an open hand with palm facing to the side is held over another open hand with palm facing downward, the bottom hand is moving back and forth	B1 p. 81 245-3
過 cross	男 man	地 面 ground	“手”掌心向內, 在另一手手背上劃過 an open hand palm facing down is placed in front, the man hand moves from near the body over the ground to the other side.	B1 p. 101 4-327
計程車 taxi	汽車 car	燈 light	“一”在“紳”手背上擺動 the one hand sits on the car hand and acts as pivot as the finger moves in circles	B1 p.82 3-247
存 錢 筒 money box	錢 money	容 器 container	將“錢”放在容器內 money is placed in the container	B2 p.13 1-53
湯 soup	碗 bowl	湯 匙 spoon	做舀湯匙喝湯狀 spoon into mouth	B1 p.131 6-437
搬家 move house	房子 house	搬 move	右“方”掌心朝上, 左“手”掌心朝右, 往右移 one hand is half a house and the other hand moves around inside the house	B2 p.114 6-359
天 花 板 ceiling	房子 house	天 花 板 ceiling	右“手”自左“手”腕處掌心朝下, 向右移 one hand is half a house and the other hand moves out straight to show the ceiling	B2 p. 104 6-297
哭 cry	臉 face	滴 眼 淚 tear drop	“呂”做眼淚狀自眼往下移 the tear drop is a circle made from the index and thumb which falls from one eye	B2 p. 132 7-417
與 眾 不 同 unique	一 one	群 眾 crowd	“一”從“手”指縫間穿出 the index finger rises through the index and middle finger of the other palm facing down hand	B2 p. 91 5-289
再 見 Goodbye	一 one	鞠躬 bow	左右“一”拉開成“十” two ONE hands go from touching to splitting apart, their head bend down as they part	B1 p. 60 2-155

護士 nurse	手臂 arm	十字 cross	“雙”掌心朝下，觸另一手手臂 one hand is in a cross shape and is placed on the upper arm like a badge	B1 p.136 6-464
累 tired	手臂 arm	拳 fist	“拳”重複敲手臂 fist hits the arm in repeated movements	B1, p. 183 9-661
逃 escape	腿 2 legs	藏匿處 hiding place	“二”放在“九”下，由內往外走路狀 two legs, represented by the index and middle finger, hide behind the other hand and then move out from under into the open	B2 p. 35 2-126
忍耐 patient	心 heart	困難 difficulty	“九”掌心向上，小指壓在心上 an open hand hits the heart position on the chest	B1 p. 115 5-380
命令 command	男 man	命令 command	“二”指向拇指，“男”同時往前一動 use index and middle finger to move in a downward motion at the MAN hand, the MAN hand at the same time moves forward	B2 p. 11 1-39
教 teach	男 man	教 teach	右“一”在左男斜上方擺動 the index finger points to the side of the MAN hand moving back and forth	B1 p.79 3-230
問 ask	男 man	問 ask	手掌指向拇指 the open hand with palm facing the side directs one downward motion toward the MAN hand	B1 p.80 3-236

3.2. Opaque Simultaneous Compounds

This section looks at opaque compounds in TSL. It should be noted that it is much harder to find clear examples of opaque compounds than transparent and translucent compounds. In addition, there is no definite borderline for when a compound becomes opaque as opposed to translucent. These issues often depend on the opinion of individual signers.

3.2.1 Both Morphemes Are Highly Productive

In Table 5 we have listed possible examples of opaque compounds composed of highly productive morphemes.

Table 5. Opaque Compounds: Both Morphemes are Highly Productive

Sign	Morph.	Morph.	Motion	Reference
呆板、呆、不動(指人)、僵立、發呆、木頭人 dull	男 man	男 man	右“男”向下敲左“男”the right man hand rubs its palm back and forth on the second man's thumb.	B2 p. 85 5-256
經驗 experience	男 man	男 man	左右“男”在胸前交叉並同時晃動 two arms cross and the man hands shake back and forth	B1 p. 150 7-513
可以 may	女 woman	下巴 chin	“女”重複輕觸下巴 the pinky of the woman finger moves up to touch the chin	B1 p. 70 3-178
對 correct	一 one	一 one	右“一”放在左“一”上 the right hand's one is place on the left hand's one	B1 p. 325 4-325
喜歡 like	錢 ? money	臉 頰 cheek	“句”在臉頰上下來回 money rubs up and down on cheek	B1 p. 71 3-183
一天 one day	一 one	太陽穴 forehead	“一”由太陽穴處向外劃 the one hand starts touching the side of the forehead and then moving off forward	B1 p. 73 3-192

Since these compounds are opaque, it is sometimes hard to determine if the morpheme used is actually that of the productive morpheme or not. For instance, the possible MONEY morpheme in LIKE above could actually have a different meaning other than MONEY. This handshape is used to represent all types of round objects, including TEAR DROP and GRAPE. Due to the nature of opaque compounds, the actual meaning of this morpheme cannot easily be determined.

3.2.2. Unproductive Morphemes

Since these morphemes are unproductive, it is difficult to describe them. In some instances we use the names of the fingers used in their hand shape. In others we guess at what the shape might mean. Of course, some morphemes may be more opaque than others depending on your interpretation of their meanings, as seen in Table 6.

Table 6. Unproductive morphemes in Opaque compounds

Sign	Morpheme	Morpheme	Morpheme	Motion	Reference
梅 plum		食指與中指 index and middle together		“棕”掌心朝內先處嘴巴左邊，再觸右邊 the index and middle finger of the right hand moves from the left side of the mouth over to the right side	B1 p. 110 5-348
勇敢 brave	“六” thumb and index separated	“六” thumb and index separated	腰 waist	左右“六”在腰前貼身用力往兩邊拉開 making a six handshape, the two hands are placed together in front of the waist, index finger facing down, then the hands move apart to each side.	B1 p. 115 5-378
老 old	頭 forehead	手 open hand		“五”手指張開，慢慢併攏到額頭前 the open hand's palm moves outward off the forehead and the fingers spread apart.	B1 p. 114 5-374
年輕 young	頭 forehead	手 open hand		手指併攏從額頭向外移動，並慢慢張開手指 the opposite sequence of actions as for old.	B1 p. 115 5-375
也 also	像 same	像 same		雙手“六”交叉在胸前，手指重複開合 the arms cross with the fingers pointing up, the index and thumb touching together repeatedly	B1 p. 117 5-390
倒霉 bad luck	鼻 nose	手 open hand		“五”重複觸碰鼻頭 the right hand is open and moves back and forth covering the nose and the mouth, hand touches the nose	B2 p. 88 5-271
奇怪 strange	下巴 chin	手 open hand		“五”食指觸碰下巴，其他手指擺動 the index finger touches to chin and the other fingers are splayed apart wiggling	B1 p. 77 3-219

Here we have noticed that it is not easy to distinguish words from opaque compounds, especially since the morphemes in these opaque compounds are unproductive. For example, in STRANGE, the chin segment could be considered a morpheme, or simply a phoneme of the word.

3.3. Morphs And Cranberry Morphs

Morphs and cranberry morphs are much harder to find in TSL. In order to find a morph, one would have to find at least two signs with the same morph in them. This is very difficult to do in TSL. One of our possible cranberry morphs is DULL, which has a morpheme MAN that is modified by a seemingly meaningless sign. We say possible because this cranberry morph seems to also be a MAN morpheme, which is a productive morpheme. However, the motion that accompanies it in this compound is very opaque (something like MAN + MAN RUBBING ON OTHER MAN) leading us to regard the motion and the hand shape to be a cranberry morph. Similarly, we say that in EXPERIENCE there are two MAN morphemes which seem to be related to the meaning of the word. However, it is unclear how the unproductive CROSSING ARMS part of

the sign adds to the meaning of the compound, so we consider it to be a possible cranberry morph like those in Table 7.

Table 7. Possible Cranberry Morphs

Sign	Morpheme	Cranberry Morph	Motion	Reference
呆板、呆、不動 (指人)、僵立、發呆、木頭人 dull	男 man	男 man	右“男”向下敲左“男”the right man hand rubs its palm back and forth on the second man's thumb.	B2 p. 85 5-256
經驗 experience	男 man	手 臂 交 叉 crossing arms	左右“男”在胸前交叉並同時晃動 two arms cross and the man hands shake back and forth	B1 p. 150 7-513

3.4. Conclusion

In this section, we talked about transparent and translucent compounds and also opaque compounds in TSL. The morphemes in these kinds of compounds could be the combination of highly productive morphemes, or unproductive and highly iconic morphemes, or one highly productive morpheme with another unproductive morpheme. We showed that productive morphemes have different degrees of iconicity but unproductive morphemes must be iconic.

In addition, the morphemes in opaque compounds may not be morphemes at all. They may instead just be phonetic components of words. Finally, the category of morphs and cranberry morphs also has very few examples. Those examples that we do find seem to imply that motion should be taken into consideration when determining morphemes.

4.0. CONCLUSION

As one can see, simultaneous compounds are much more prevalent in TSL than in spoken languages. This creates classes of compounds which do not exist in spoken language, such as Transparent/Translucent simultaneous compounds. In addition, we also find many unproductive iconic morphemes in TSL, where spoken language doesn't have any. This is probably because TSL is in the visual spatial medium, allowing for more iconic freedom. Languages tend to model concepts from physical space and relations within it, and less on sound resemblances (Rosch, 1977). Thus sign languages have more iconicity than spoken languages (Taub, 2001, p. 61).

In addition, TSL seems to lack morphs and cranberry morphs, which do not have recognizable meanings to signers.

We classified simultaneous compounds in TSL according to whether their morphemes were productive or iconic. In this way we could clearly see the differences between morphemes found in spoken language and those that are found in sign language. Whereas spoken language uses mostly productive and arbitrary morphemes, sign language can have both productive-iconic and unproductive-iconic morphemes. One of our findings was that transparent and translucent compounds are never composed of unproductive-arbitrary morphemes. Unlike spoken language, most of TSL morphemes are iconic to some extent, even the MAN morpheme (where it's argued that the thumb is the head and the fist is the body). Thus, arbitrary signs in TSL are actually less common than iconic signs.

Another finding of this paper was the almost complete lack of opaque compounds. Possible opaque compounds were always on the border between compounds and words. This is also the case in spoken languages. Speakers of English are on the borderline of classifying words like MUSHROOM and UNDERSTAND as compounds (Liddell & Johnson, 1986, p. 499). Chinese also has words which are borderline compounds to speakers.

(3) Chinese Compound or Word?

漢堡

hanbao

Chinese + fort

“hamburger”

Thus, our findings show that there is a new class of compounds in TSL and probably all sign languages, namely simultaneous compounds. The reason for this seems to be based on the fact that sign language can represent language pictorially in ways that spoken language cannot. In addition, it can simultaneously use different parts of the body and motions to represent concepts in an iconic fashion. That concepts are more easily represented in the spatial medium makes intuitive sense if we accept the fact raised by Rosch (1977) that most of language is based on spatial relationships. In spoken language these concepts can only be represented through arbitrary means. Furthermore, with the tendency for languages to be as iconic as they possibly can, we can see clearly how cognitive processes will manifest themselves in different mediums of communication.

NOTES

1. Examples listed in this format (i.e. B2 p.7, 1-17) are from Zhong Hua Min Guo Long Ren Xie Hui (1998).
2. Another property of ASL compounds that Liddell and Johnson (1986) find is that the first part of an ASL compound has a shorter duration than the second part. Thus, compound durations as a whole don't differ too much from the duration of simple signs. This fact is not relevant for simultaneous compounds since the signs occur at the same time for the same duration.
3. Examples provided by James Myers.
4. WHERE also has a simultaneous version where the index finger indicating WHAT is shown at the same time the rest of the hand is signing PLACE.
5. This meaningless CAR is not related to the vehicle CAR, since it has the pronunciation /ker/ and not /kar/.
6. Examples provided by James Myers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to James Myers for suggesting we look into the idea of simultaneous compounds.

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V. Second Language Studies

L2 ACQUISITION OF VERB PLACEMENT: EVIDENCE FROM CHINESE-ENGLISH INTERLANGUAGE

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1.0. INTRODUCTION

In a series of studies, White (1990/91, 1991, 1992) found that French students consistently allow adverbs to intervene between thematic verbs and their non-heavy direct objects in their L2 English (e.g. **Mary watches often television.*). By comparing the surface clause structures of English and French, White attributed these S(ubject)V(erb)A(dverb)O(bject) errors to the transfer from French, where SVAdvO is allowed (e.g. *Marie regarde souvent la télévision*). This research has triggered great interest in L2 acquisition of verb placement among generative second language researchers in the past decade. Eubank, Bischof, Huffstutler, Leek, and West (1997), for example, found that L1 Chinese learners of English also seem to allow *SVAdvO in a Truth-Value-Judgment (TVJ) task, although this order is prohibited in Chinese (e.g. **Wo kan changchang dianshi.*). They therefore argued that *SVAdvO stems from the immature state of Interlanguage rather than L1 transfer. In a study of L2 Chinese, Yuan (2001), however, found *SVAdvO was prohibited by learners, even supposed beginners, whose L1 was English, French or German. He thereby concluded that *SVAdvO order, the so-called 'verb raising' phenomenon, was not 'inevitable' in L2 acquisition.

The research above restricted its focus to thematic verbs. The study reported in this paper is a partial replication of White's (1991) study, but this time looking at a group of L1 Chinese speakers acquiring English. In addition to the 32 sentence pairs used in White's 'preference' task, testing thematic-verb placement relative to manner and frequency adverbs, another 18 pairs were added to the instrument testing non-thematic-verbs (i.e. modals, auxiliary and copula *be*) relative to these adverbs and negation.

The purpose is twofold. First, since Chinese prohibits SVAdvO while French allows it, by comparing the thematic-verb results with White's, especially the SVAdvO acceptance rates, we can determine the role that L1 transfer plays in the acquisition of verb placement of English. Second, since English does allow adverbs to occur between non-thematic verbs (i.e. auxiliary and copula *be* and modals) and their complements, data from non-thematic verbs should bring insight into a global understanding of L2 acquisition of English verb placement.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 lays out the theoretical background concerning verb placement and presents a summary of the similarities and differences in S-structures of thematic verb and non-thematic verb placement relative to adverbs and negation in English, French and Chinese. Section 3 reviews previous L2 acquisition research on verb placement that bears directly on my study. Section 4 describes my experiment and presents its results. Section 5 discusses the results. Section 6 closes the paper with a tentative conclusion and some cautions for future research design.

2.0. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. English and French

English and French have similarities and differences in surface clause structures. First, both languages allow adverbs to appear in sentence initial and sentence final positions, as can be seen in the minimal pairs in (1) and (2):

- (1) a. *Carefully* John opened the door.
b. *Prudemment* Jean a ouvert la porte.
- (2) a. John drinks his coffee *quickly*.
b. Jean boit so café *rapidement*.

Second, they both allow adverbs to occur between auxiliaries and their VP complements, as in (3):

- (3) a. John has *often* visited the museum.
b. Jean a *souvent* visite le musee.

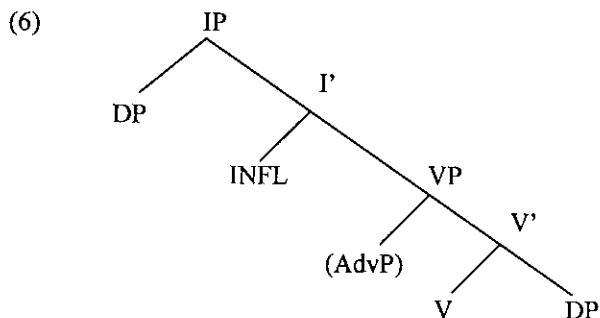
Yet, English and French also differ in sentence surface structures in several aspects. First, English prohibits adverbs to appear between thematic verbs and their non-heavy direct objects, while in French, this is acceptable. In contrast, English allows adverbs to precede thematic verbs whereas French does not, as in example (4).

- (4) a. **John kisses often Marie.*
 b. *Jean embrasse souvent Marie.*
 c. *John often kisses Marie.*
 d. **Jean souvent embrasse Marie.*

In addition, in French, thematic verbs directly precede negation, which is ungrammatical in English, as in (5):

- (5) a. **John likes not Mary.*
 b. *Jean (n') aime pas Marie.*

Pollock (1989) analyzed these seemingly unrelated differences and proposed that English and French sentence structures are actually identical at the D-structure level, with adverbs optionally adjoining to the left of VP, as illustrated in (6):



This D-structure allows certain parametric variations. French, for example, has a strong INFL, which motivates raising all finite verbs to I to check the inflections overtly at Phonetic Form (PF), resulting in the surface order S-V-Adv-O, as can be seen in (7) and (8):

- (7) *Jean embrasse souvent t Marie*
 John kisses often | Mary
 'John often kisses Mary.'
- (8) *Jean a souvent t visite le musee.*
 John has often visited the museum
 'John has often visited the museum.'

In English, however, the situation is more complex. Since INFL is weak, all finite thematic verbs must stay *in situ* within VP, and feature checking is done covertly at Logical Form (LF) through affix lowering, leading to S-Adv-V-O sequence (9), while non-thematic verbs (i.e., auxiliaries, copula *be*, and modals) can raise up to I overtly at PF, resulting in S-Aux-Adv-V-O order, as in (10).

- (9) *John t often kisses Mary.* (affix lowering)
- (10) *John has often t visited the museum.* (verb raising)

Pollock further suggested splitting INFL into two functional projections: Tense Phrase (TP) and Agreement Phrase (AgrP) with Negation Phrase (NegP) falling between them, shown in (11). The different possibilities of

raising verbs from V to Agr (short movement) and then to T (long movement) result in the surface differences between English and French with respect to verb placement relative to negation, questions, adverbs, floating quantifiers, and quantification at a distance.

- (11) [TP [NegP [AgrP ([VP AdvP] [VP])]]]

This hypothesis can account for the negation data in (5), as illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. *John likes not t Mary.
 b. Jean (n') aime pas t Marie.
 John likes not Mary.
 'John does not like Mary.'

2.2. Chinese

Chinese is a language with little tense and agreement inflection. Modal verbs such as *keyi* 'can/may', *hui* 'will/can', *neng* 'can', and aspectual markers like *you* (perfective) and *zai* (progressive) function as auxiliary verbs, taking VP complements headed by thematic verbs (Ernst, 1994, 1995).

In terms of clause S-structures, Chinese allows adverbs to occur in sentence initial position but not in sentence final position,¹ as is shown in (13):

- (13) a. *Xiaoxin de* Zhangsan *kaikai le* men.
 Careful DE Zhangsan open ASP door
 'Carefully Zhangsan opened the door.'
 b. *Zhangsan *kaikai le* men *xiaoxin de*.
 Zhangsan open ASP door careful DE.
 'Carefully Zhangsan opened the door.'

As in English, adverbs may precede thematic verbs, but should not appear between thematic verbs and their direct objects (14).

- (14) a. Zhangsan *changchang* chi shuijiao.
 Zhangsan often eat dumpling
 'Zhangsan often eats dumplings'
 b. *Zhangsan chi *changchang* shuijiao.
 Zhangsan eat often dumpling
 * 'Zhangsan eats often dumplings'.

What makes Chinese unique is its negation. Chinese negative markers *bu* and *mei* immediately precede the verbs they modify rather than resorting to *do*-support as in English (15a) or occurring after verbs as in French (15b):

- (15) a. Lisi *bu* he *kele*.
 Lisi not drink cola
 'Lisi does not drink cola.'
 b. *Lisi he *bu* *kele*.
 Lisi drink not cola
 * 'Lisi drinks not cola.'

Following Pollock (1989), the fact that adverbials and negation precede thematic verbs, (14a) and (15a), instead of intervening between these verbs and their direct objects, for example (14b) and (15b), shows that thematic verbs do not raise in Chinese.

As for non-thematic verbs, like English, Chinese allows both SModAdvVP and SAdvModVP although the scope interpretations are different, as can be seen in (16):

- (16) a. Zhangsan *keyi* *changchang* he niunai.
 Zhangsan *can* *often* drink milk
 'Zhangsan has permission to often drink milk.'
- b. Zhangsan *changchang* *keyi* he niunai.
 Zhangsan *often* can drink milk
 'Zhangsan often has the permission to drink milk.'

Like what happens to thematic verbs, negation also directly precedes modals, which results in the surface structure of both SModNegVP and SNegModVP, while English and French only allow SModNegVP, as in (17).

- (17) a. Lisi *keyi* *bu* he kele.
 Lisi *can* *not* drink cola.
 'Lisi cannot drink cola.' (meaning: Lisi has the permission to not drink cola.)
- b. Lisi *bu* *keyi* he kele.
 Lisi *not* *can* drink cola
 'Lisi cannot drink cola.' (meaning: Lisi does not have the permission to drink cola.)

The scope ambiguity of the English sentence 'Lisi cannot drink cola' in (17a) and (17b), —e.g. *can* takes scope over *not* and *not* takes scope over *can*— provides evidence that English modals and auxiliaries raise. Chinese, in contrast, reads scope off surface syntax for preverbal adverbials and negatives, which suggests that Chinese modals, and other auxiliaries, do not rise.

To summarize what is discussed above, verb placement in Chinese is rather straightforward in the sense that neither thematic verbs nor non-thematic verbs raise, which results in scope being determined by surface syntactic command relations (Ernst, 1994; Lee & Pan, 2000).

2.3. Summary

The surface sentence structures in English, French, and Chinese have both similarities and differences in terms of verb placement relative to adverbs and negation. To give a clear overview of the three languages, I summarize these similarities and differences in Table 1 and 2:

Table 1. Thematic verb placement relative to adverb

	SVAdvO	SAdvVO	SVOAdv	AdvSVO
English	*	√	√	√
French	√	*	√	√
Chinese	*	√	*	√

Table 2. Non-thematic verb placement relative to adverb and to negation

	SAuxAdvXP	SAdvAuxXP	AdvSAuxXP	SAuxXPAdv	SNegAuxXP	SAuxNegXP
English	√	√	√	√	*	√
French	√	*	√	√	*	√
Chinese	√	√	√	*	√	√

Note: "Aux" stands for auxiliaries, modals, and copula. "XP" is AdjP, NP or PP with copula, otherwise VP

3.0. L2 ACQUISITION OF VERB PLACEMENT

L2 acquisition of verb placement has caught considerable empirical attention during the past decade (White 1990/91, 1991, 1992; Hawkins, Towell, & Bazergui, 1993; Eubank et al., 1997; Ionin & Wexler, 2001; Yuan, 2001, among many others). By studying different L1-L2 pairings using a diversity of methodologies, these researchers have arrived at various theoretical positions to account for their results. For the relevance of the present study, I will briefly review four of these studies, namely, White (1991, 1992), Eubank et al. (1997), and Yuan (2001).

3.1. White (1991)

The primary purpose of White's (1991) study was to investigate the effectiveness of explicit classroom instruction in helping francophone learners of English acquiring thematic verb placement relative to frequency and manner adverbs. Participants were Grade 5 and Grade 6 students, aged 11 and 12, in ESL intensive programs in Quebec, Canada. Before entering the programs, they had had a maximum of two hours of English instruction per week in Grade 4 and Grade 5, and were said to have little exposure to English outside the classroom. In these intensive programs, five months were solely devoted to English instruction. By the time of the pretest, they had been in the program for three months but had had no instruction on adverb placement. The experiment involved two conditions: an adverb group (n=82) was given explicit instruction on English adverb placement, and a question group (n=56) was taught question formation to make sure they would not be disadvantaged by lack of English instruction. In addition, an English native speaker control group (n=26) was included.

A pretest and two post-tests were administered using three tasks: a grammaticality judgment task in the form of a cartoon story, consisting of 33 sentences to be judged and corrected; a preference task consisting of 32 sentence pairs for the participants to judge as acceptable or not by using one of the five choices given to them; and a manipulation task where participants were asked to form sentences by using a set of word cards.

Preference task results show that of the 12 sentence pairs comparing *SVAdvO and other grammatical adverb positions, participants in the adverb and question groups had a mean *SVAdvO score of about 8 on the pretest, while the native speaker control group scored 0.7. On the two post-tests, the adverb group's mean score dropped to 1.5, while the question group maintained a mean score of 9. A follow-up study test was administered to a subset of participants in the adverb group one year later. The mean *SVAdvO score of this class had been 7.86 on the pretest. It dropped to 2.29 and 1.58 on the two post-tests, but rose up to 7.86 again on the follow-up test. These results provide clear evidence that these French learners have a strong tendency to raise thematic verbs past frequency and manner adverbs in their L2 English, and even explicit instruction is not really effective in helping them to acquire English verb placement, as shown in the follow-up test.

3.2. White (1992)

In her 1992 study, White tested 97 French learners of L2 English on verb placement relative to both adverbs and negation. They were also fifth and sixth graders in an ESL program in Quebec. One group had had explicit instruction on adverb placement, while the other did not. They were pre-tested and post-tested using a preference task consisting of 33 sentence pairs. Results indicate that not a single case of raising thematic verb past negation was found in either group on the two tests. They also correctly placed auxiliaries in front of the negative marker *not*. With respect to adverbs, both groups allowed *SVAdvO order in English on the pretest. After two weeks of instruction, participants in the adverb group came to realize that SVAdvO is prohibited in English while participants in the non-instruction group continued to accept it as grammatical.

Following Pollock's (1989) split-INFL hypothesis, White suggested that French learners of English successfully set the value of Tense to be [weak] in their Interlanguage, so they do not raise thematic verbs past negation all the way to T (i.e. long movement). But they do not know that Agr is also [weak] until quite late. So they adopt the French parameter setting and raise thematic verbs over adverbs to Agr in English (i.e. short movement). According to White, the French-English Interlanguage is more influenced by the property of short movement than long movement in French because the kind of evidence required in restructuring the grammar is different: the former requires negative evidence—i.e. evidence indicating that sentences like **Mary watches sometimes television* are impossible—while the latter needs positive evidence—i.e. evidence showing that such sentences as *Mary is not a student* are possible. Since negative evidence is extremely rare in the

input, French learners tend to be much more successful in acquiring verb placement relative to negation than to adverbs.

These studies have been cited as evidence for the Full Transfer/Full Access (FT/FA) hypothesis by Schwartz and Sprouse (1994, 1996). According to this hypothesis, L2 learners transfer all principles and parameter values instantiated in their L1 grammar except the phonetic matrices of lexical items (Full Transfer hypothesis). This initial grammar is later restructured, when it is not compatible with L2 input, drawing from options in UG (Full Access hypothesis). Accordingly, Schwartz and Sprouse (1996) proposed that L2 learners with different L1 backgrounds would exhibit distinct acquisition paths because their L2 grammars are influenced by their respective L1 properties of a given parameter. The *SVAdvO errors found in the French-English Interlanguage, for example, were viewed as the product of transfer of the French verb-movement parameter setting into English. One empirical implication naturally follows: L1 speakers of a language with a different setting from French would be less likely to make the *SVAdvO errors as White's French participants did. This is exactly what Eubank et al. (1997) attempted to test in their study.

3.3. Eubank et al. (1997)

Since, unlike French, Chinese is a language that lacks verb raising, Eubank et al. (1997) conducted their study on Chinese-English Interlanguage. The participants were 40 Chinese learners of English (mean age = 27.1) and a control group of 28 native English speakers. They employed a truth-value-judgment task consisting of 28 test items. Eight of them were so-called 'raised' items testing thematic verb placement relative to manner adverbs, one sample of which is cited in (18).

- (18) Tom loves to draw pictures of monkeys in the zoo. Tom likes his pictures to be perfect, so he always draws them very slowly and carefully. All the monkeys always jump up and down really fast.

Tom draws slowly jumping monkeys.

True: grammar allows raising

False: local interpretation.

The context states two facts: (i) Tom draws slowly; and (ii) the monkeys jump fast. If a participant judges '*Tom draws slowly jumping monkeys*' as true, it shows that in the participant's grammar, the adverb *slowly* modifies the verb *draws* rather than *jumping*, which provides the evidence that s/he allows verbs to raise past adverbs. Conversely, if the participant judges the statement as false, s/he must have interpreted *slowly* as the modifier of *jumping*, hence a local interpretation.

In addition, another four 'unraised control items' were included, the purpose of which is to make sure that these participants actually know that adverbs modify VPs rather than the preceding NPs. They also included 12 fillers mainly to balance the number of expected True versus False responses.

For the sake of classifying the participants, an on-line translation task was also administered to measure knowledge of English subject-verb agreement. Results indicated that, of the 224 responses on the control items, the native speaker control group chose False at 100%, and for raised items the rate was 91%. As for the nonnative group, of the 158 responses on the unraised control items, 94.9% were false. By contrast, of the 317 responses on the raised items, 74.1% were false and 25.9% were true. In terms of the Agreement and No-agreement division of the non-native speakers, the Agreement Group accepted 18.3% of raised items as True; the No-agreement Group figure was 30.4%. These results show that these Chinese learners do allow *SVAdvO to some extent, i.e., 25.9% for the entire group, and 18.3% and 30.4% for the Agreement Group and No-agreement Group respectively.

Since Chinese prohibits SVAdvO, Eubank et al. took their results to challenge the transfer-based explanation. They argued that rather than stemming from the L1, these SVAdvO errors were caused by the impairment of Interlanguage grammar, which made these L2 learners incapable of specifying the strength values of V-feature under I⁰, the result being an 'optional verb raising.' Based on Beck's (1996) local impairment hypothesis, they concluded that 'verb raising may always be a problem for adult L2 learners.' Their conclusion, however, was greatly challenged by Yuan's (2001) study on verb placement in L2 Chinese.

3.3. Yuan (2001)

In this study, Yuan tested a group of L2 learners of Chinese on their knowledge of verb placement relative to frequency adverbs and negation. The participants were native speakers of French (N=48), German (N=51) and English (N=67) and a control group of 10 native speakers of Chinese.

All nonnative participants were divided into sub-groups according to their length of study, which ranged from 3 months to 4.5 years. An elicited oral production task and a grammaticality judgment task were used. In the production task, participants were asked to give an oral description in Chinese about daily activities based on the information given in a table in Chinese. In the description, participants were required to convert Chinese frequency expressions like *three times a year*, *once per week*, or *five time per year* into frequency adverbs, such as *often*, *sometimes*, *rarely* and *seldom*. Participants were told that the purpose of the experiment was the interpretation of Chinese frequency adverbs so that their attention was on the meaning rather than the position of these adverbs.

In the judgment task, subjects were asked to read 18 pairs of sentences: six items were concerned with thematic verb placement relative to frequency adverbs (i.e. AdvSVXP, SAdvVXP, *SVAdvXP; *SVXPAdv); six were concerned with thematic verb placement relative to negation; and the remaining six were distracters. Participants had to judge whether these sentences were grammatical or not by putting a tick or a cross next to the sentences. They also had the choices of both right, both wrong, or 'I don't know.'

The results are striking: all groups, regardless of L1 background and length of study, were native-like in both tasks. They overwhelmingly accepted the S-Adv-V-XP order, including native speakers of French, whose L1 requires thematic verbs to raise to I for feature checking.

Yuan offered two explanations. One involves the nature of the L2 Chinese lexicon. Because Chinese verbs do not inflect for agreement and tense, when L2 learners select them for their underlying positions, there are no overt features attached to them. Therefore, there is no motivation for them to raise to INFL for feature checking at PF.

The other explanation is that the absence of verbal inflection, the position of adverbs and negation relative to verbs, the lack of auxiliaries, copulas and *do*-support in Chinese inform L2 learners at the initial stage that the abstract features associated with INFL are [weak] and cannot attract thematic verbs to I at PF.

No matter which analysis is used, this study casts doubt on the previous explanations for the L2 English SVAdvO errors. Since the participants overwhelmingly rejected *SVAdvO, it is a direct counter evidence for Eubank et al's position that verb raising is a categorical phenomenon universal to all adult L2 learners. Since the L1 French learners did not allow *SVAdvO, the transfer-based view of verb raising also seems to be problematic.

Facing all these seemingly contradictory findings on the L2 acquisition of verb placement, I decided to further investigate verb placement in L2 English by native speakers of Chinese.

4.0. THE STUDY

4.1. Participants

The participants in this experiment were 29 junior middle school Chinese students in Baoji, an undeveloped inland city in P. R. China.² Their ages ranged from 14 to 17, with the average age being 15. Although the reported age of starting to learn English varied from 8 to 14 (mean=10.52), systematic instruction of English usually starts at the age of 13 in China, when students enter junior middle school. The participants just entered Grade 3 prior to the study, and had had approximately three hours of classroom instruction per week for a little more than two years. Their English teacher said that they had received explicit instruction on negation in English but none on adverb placement. Their contact with English outside class was extremely limited.

Compared with the participants in White's (1991) study, who had had two hours of English instruction per week for about one year and three months of intensive ESL instruction prior to the study, these Chinese

students seemed to have had English instruction for a longer time. However, there are several reasons for us to believe that their English proficiency level is comparable to, if not lower than, White's French participants. First, White's French participants had had three months solely devoted to ESL instruction prior to the study, and their instructors were native speakers of English who gave great emphasis to communicative language teaching. In contrast, my Chinese participants had only received three hours of English per week from instructors who were non-native speakers of English themselves. Naturally, most of the classroom teaching was done in Chinese rather than in English. Second, although White claimed that her participants had little contact with English outside the classroom, it is well known that English is one of the official languages in Canada. Their chances of being exposed to English should have been greater than my participants, who lived in a typical monolingual society with Chinese being the only medium of communication. Finally, my participants are obviously disadvantaged by the greater typological distance between Chinese and English compared with the French participants.

In addition to these Chinese middle school students, I also included in the experiment seven monolingual adult English native speakers living in the U.S. to serve as a control group.

4.2. The Experiment

All participants were asked to complete a grammaticality judgment task that consisted of 50 pairs of sentences. Thirty-two of them were adapted from the sentences in the preference task in White's (1991) study. Their syntactic structures were kept intact, with minor modifications given to certain lexical items so as to make them more culturally accessible to Chinese students. Twenty-eight of these sentences were designed to test various manner adverbs (i.e. *quickly*, *slowly*, *carefully*, *quietly*) and frequency adverbs (i.e. *always*, *often*, *usually*, *sometimes*) in relation to finite thematic verbs (i.e. SVAdvO, SAdvVO, SVOAdv, AdvSVO, SVAdvPP, SVPPAdv, SAdvVPP)³ and the other four were fillers. A sample item is given below in (19):

- (19) a. Zhang Ling cuts carefully the paper.
b. Carefully Zhang Ling cuts the paper.

In (19a), the adverb occurs between the verb and its direct object, hence the *SVAdvO order. Acceptance of such sentences would be treated as evidence for verb raising. While in (19b), the adverb falls in the sentence initial position, and this AdvSVO surface order points to no verb raising.

In addition to these sentences, 18 pairs of sentences were added to the test, covering the possible positions of the same manner adverbs and frequency adverbs and negation relative to finite non-thematic verbs, i.e., modals *should* and *can*, auxiliary and copula *be*. The patterns tested include *Sbe/ModalAdvXP*, *SAdvbe/ModalXP*, *AdvSbe/ModalXP*, *Sbe/ModalXPAdv*, *SNegbe/ModalXP* and *Sbe/ModalNegXP*. Here XP stands for VP and post copula AdjP, NP or PP. An example is given in (20).

- (20) a. The teacher slowly is opening the door.
b. The teacher is slowly opening the door.

In (20a), the adverb occurs after the subject but before the auxiliary *be*, and this SAdvbeVO surface order shows that *be* does not rise. In (20b), the adverb intervenes between *be* and the thematic verb, indicating *be* raises from its base position to I.

All the sentence pairs, including the fillers, were in present tense, and they appeared on the test paper in random order.

After reading each pair of sentences, participants were required to choose one answer among five choices, as shown in (21):

- (21) A. Only a is right.
B. Only b is right.
C. Both are right.
D. Both are wrong.
E. I don't know.

Considering the limited proficiency level of the participants, the instructions and the five choices were given in both English and Chinese. To ensure that the participants understood clearly what to do, before the test actually started, the administer gave them illustrations on the blackboard by using the two example items printed on their test paper. All the answers, together with certain relevant personal information, were given on prepared answer sheets.

4.3. Results

Thematic verb placement relative to adverbs. The thematic verb results are summarized in Figures 1a, 1b and 1c. The mean acceptance of the four patterns regarding thematic verb placement relative to all adverbs is reported in Figure 1a. As we can see, the native speakers performed as expected. Their *SVAdvO acceptance rate was 2.60%, and their SAdvVO acceptance was 100%. The L2 learners, however, accepted *SVAdvO at a rate of 29.67% and their SAdvVO acceptance was only 49.67%.

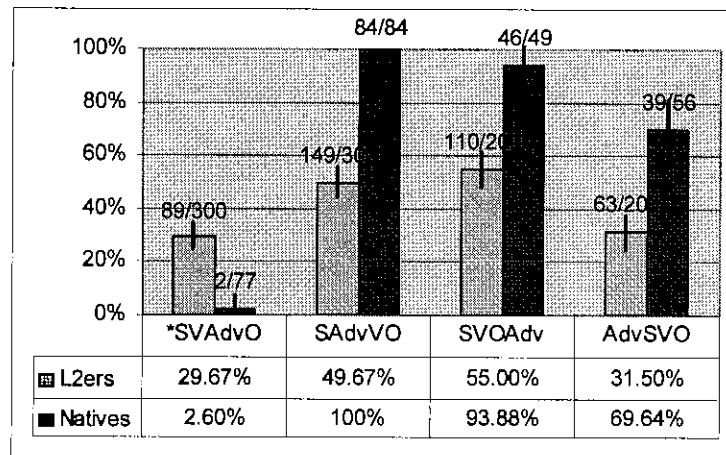


Figure 1a. Thematic verb placement relative to ALL adverbs

In terms of the other two supposedly grammatical orders, the natives did not show a clear-cut judgment, especially for AdvSVO order, whose acceptance was only 69.64%. A closer look at the data reveals that some native speakers showed sensitivity to adverb subtypes. For example, they tended to accept AdvSVO with manner adverbs (e.g. *Slowly the train leaves the station*) more so than with frequency adverbs (e.g. *Always my mother cooks dinner*). Therefore, I decided to further analyze the data by making distinctions between manner and frequency adverbs, as in Figure 1b and Figure 1c.

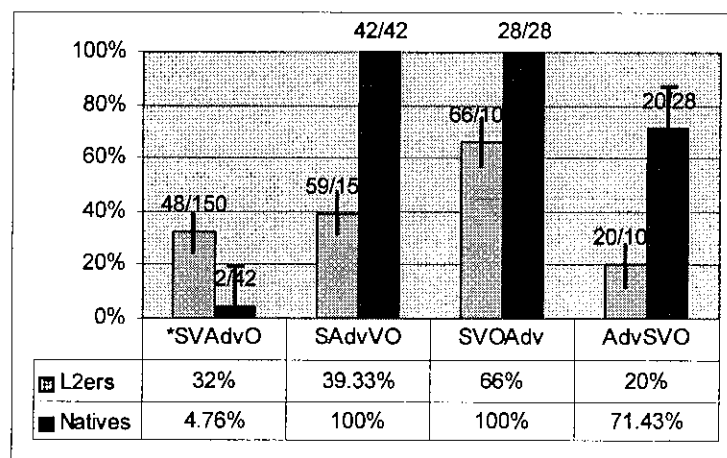


Figure 1b. Thematic verb placement relative to MANNER adverbs

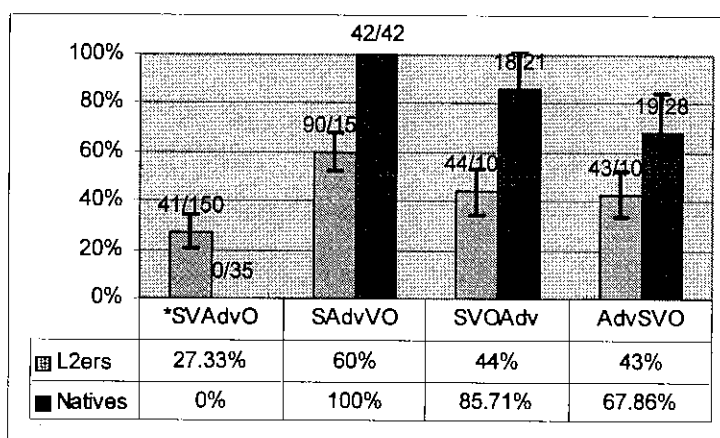


Figure 1c. Thematic verb placement relative to FREQUENCY adverbs

By comparing the results in Figure 1b and Figure 1c we find several interesting facts. First, both the natives and L2 learners more readily accepted the SVOAdv order with manner adverbs than with frequency adverbs. The confidence interval proportion shows that the difference between the acceptance rates of S-V-O-Manner Adv and S-V-O-Frequency Adv by the L2ers is significant. Second, while the manner-frequency distinction did not make a big difference for the native speakers in accepting the AdvSVO order, the rates being 71.43% versus 67.86% respectively, it was a factor for the L2 learners: with manner adverbs, the acceptance was 20%; with frequency adverbs, the rate rose to 43%. This difference shows that these L2 learners preferred frequency adverbs to manner adverbs in sentence initial positions. Third, although the native control group accepted SAdvVO at 100% regardless of the subtype of the adverb, the L2 learners had 60% SAdvVO acceptance for frequency adverbs while the rate for manner adverbs was 39.33%. To sum up, the L2 learners were generally more sensitive to the manner-frequency distinction than the natives.

Non-thematic verb placement relative to adverbs. The results for nonthematic verbs are given in Figures 2a, 2b, and 2c. I start with the overall results in Figure 2a.

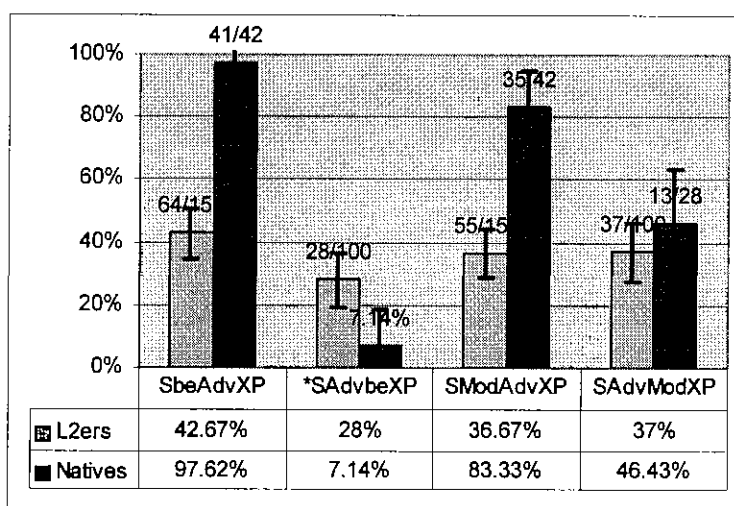


Figure 2a. Non-thematic verb placement relative to ALL adverbs

The native control group had more consistent judgment on adverb placement relative to auxiliary and copula *be* than to modals. They accepted *SbeAdvXP* at the rate of 97.62% while they rejected **SAdvAuxXP* at about 93%. Although they tended to accept *SModAdvXP* and reject *SAdvModXP* most of the time, many of them accepted both orders when the adverb *sometimes* was used. (e.g. *The baby can sometimes walk* versus *The*

baby sometimes can walk). As for the L2 learners, their overall performance was poor in the sense that their acceptance of the grammatical orders (i.e. *SbeAdvXP* and *SModAdvXP*) was rather low, and they accepted the ungrammatical order (i.e. *SAdvbeXP*) at the rate of 28%. The confidence interval proportions show that there are hardly any significant differences among all these orders.

Since the manner-frequency distinction affects thematic verb placement, I also report the non-thematic verb results by splitting the adverbs into the two subtypes (see Figures 2b and 2c).

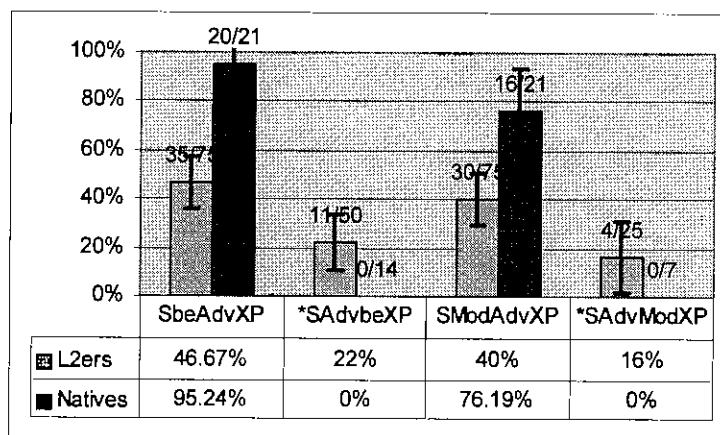


Figure 2b. Non-thematic verb placement relative to MANNER adverbs

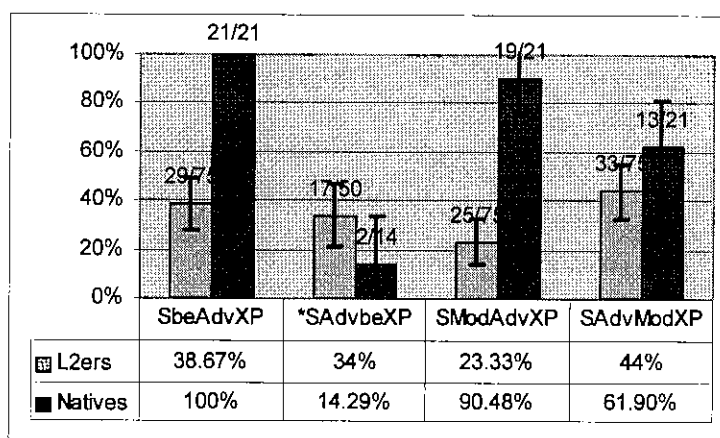


Figure 2c. Non-thematic verb placement relative to FREQUENCY adverbs

The native speakers performed as expected except for their judgment on *SAdvModXP* with frequency adverbs. Scrutiny of the test items shows that this 44% mean acceptance does not result from individual variation of judgment; rather, it is due to the fact that they accepted this order with certain adverbs (e.g. *Alice sometimes can understand me*) but rejected it with other adverbs (e.g. *The students often should clean the classroom*).

As for the L2 learners, generally speaking, they performed slightly better in non-thematic verb placement with manner adverbs than with frequency adverbs. Their *SbeAdvXP* and *SModAdvXP* acceptance rates with manner adverbs were above 40%, but the rates dropped with frequency adverbs, especially the *SModAdvXP* acceptance, dropping to as low as 23.33%. In terms of *be* and modal placement, from Figures 2b and 2c we can see a slightly higher acceptance for *SbeAdvXP* than *SModAdvXP*, but the confidence interval analysis indicates that this difference is not significant.

Non-thematic verb placement relative to negation. Compared with the adverb results, the negation data is much more uplifting, as shown in Figure 3.

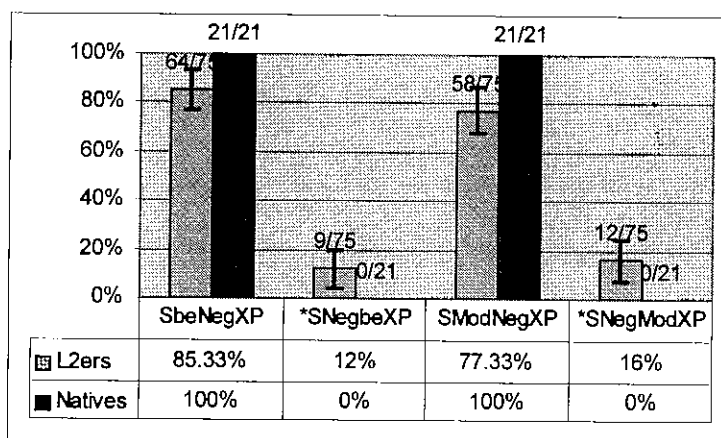


Figure 3. Non-thematic verb placement relative to NEGATION

The native speaker control group accepted *Sbe*/ModNegXP at 100% and rejected all sentences in *SNeg*be*/ModXP order. The L2 learners, although not totally native-like, accepted 85.33% of *Sbe*NegXP and 77.33% of SModNegXP. Their acceptance of the two ungrammatical orders, i.e. SNeg*be*XP and SNegModXP, were 12% and 16% respectively. Again, they did slightly better with the placement of *be* than modals, but this difference is not statistically significant.

5.0. DISCUSSION

Returning to the two objectives of this study, the first was to determine whether L1 transfer is the cause of verb raising by comparing the L2 English of Chinese students with that of the French students in White's (1991) study. The second objective was to investigate non-thematic verb placement relative to adverbs and negation in L2 development. Focusing on these two objectives I will take the results to tentatively suggest that there are two major causes for the SVAdvO verb placement errors in L2 acquisition, namely, L1 transfer and the regularity of input.

5.1. L1 Transfer

The 29.67% acceptance rate for *SVAdvO order found in the present study confirms what Eubank et al. (1997) have found in their study: Chinese learners of English do allow *SVAdvO to a certain extent, the acceptance rate by Eubank et al.'s participants being 25.9%. However, as is often the case, similar findings do not necessarily lead to similar conclusions. Their impairment-based explanation seems flawed to me for at least two reasons. First, based on the facts that Chinese prohibits *SVAdvO and Chinese learners allowed 25.9% of *SVAdvO in their L2 English, they reached the conclusion that L1 transfer cannot be the cause. This logic sounds natural, but it necessitates one premise that has not been established; that is, there is only one cause for *SVAdvO. This presumption resulted in their focus solely on whether L2 learners make these errors rather than on the extent to which they make these errors. Second, following Schwartz's argument (personal communication, March 17, 2004), I believe their 'optional verb raising' analysis can not account for the results in their study. If L2 learners really had optional verb raising because they were unable to specify the strength values of V-feature, then they would actually accept both raised and unraised verb placement in their Interlanguage grammar. For a context matching truth-value-judgment task as in (18), reproduced in (22) for convenience, facing a statement like *Tom draws slowly jumping monkeys*, their participants should have allowed the adverb *slowly* to modify the verb *draw* at a rate approaching 100% because verb raising is optional.

- (22) Tom loves to draw pictures of monkeys in the zoo. Tom likes his pictures to be perfect, so he always draws them very slowly and carefully. All the monkeys always jump up and down really fast.

Tom draws slowly jumping monkeys.

True: grammar allows raising

False: local interpretation.

Therefore the sentence *Tom draws slowly jumping monkeys* should be equally as good to them as the sentence *Tom slowly draws jumping monkeys*. This is obviously not what happened in Eubank et al.'s study. Only 82 of the 317 responses judged this statement as true.

If Eubank et al. were on the right track, then there are at least two empirical implications for the present study. First, since 'optional verb raising' is caused by the impairment of Interlanguage grammar, which happens to all adult L2 learners, my participants should have performed more or less the same as White's participants in terms of verb placement, and therefore, their *SVAdvO acceptance rates should not be too different from each other. Second, since L2 learners allow 'optional verb raising', given the choice of 'Both are right', my participants should accept both sentences in pairs like (2a), i.e. *The girl eats quickly the apple*, and (2b), i.e. *The girl eats the apple quickly* (see Appendix). Neither of these bears out in this study.

To recall White's (1991) study, out of the 12 sentence pairs in the "preference task", the French participants had a mean *SVAdvO score of 8 on both the pretest and on the follow-up test. In other words, their mean *SVAdvO acceptance rate is 66.67%. Taking the same test, the Chinese participants in the present study, however, only had a mean *SVAdvO acceptance rate of 29.09%. As mentioned earlier, although there was no measure of the proficiency level of these participants, there are good reasons to believe that my participants were at least not more advanced than White's participants. The Chinese participants' overall low acceptance except for negation in this study shows that they are beginning-level English learners. In addition, evidence has shown that even advanced French learners persist in making *SVAdvO errors in their Interlanguage English (Schwartz, 1998). If these arguments are reasonable, then the fact that White's participants accepted *SVAdvO twice as often as mine points to the L1 transfer being the pivotal cause.

If this is the case, the lackluster 49.67% SAdvVO acceptance in this study requires explanation. The acceptance difference between SAdvVO with manner (39.33%) and frequency (60%) offers a clue. Chinese learners of English are taught quite early that this tense denotes habitual and generic meaning. Since all the test items are in simple present tense, it is possible that they decided that manner test items (e.g. *Mary quickly opens the letter*.) were odd in the habitual /generic simple present tense (c.f. *Jack usually drinks tea*.).

As for the high acceptance of *Sbe*/ModNegXP, it is likely to be the direct result of explicit classroom instruction. In addition, there is also abundant and salient evidence in the input showing these learners that English negation does not precede verbs.

The general low acceptance of *Sbe*/ModAdvXP and SAdv*be*/ModXP is also very puzzling. It could be because the complexities of the interpretation of the scope of adverbs, especially frequency adverbs, intertwining with the subtleties of the meanings of modals makes non-thematic verb placement generally more difficult for L2 learners to acquire. In addition, L1 transfer can also lead to low acceptance of certain sentences (e.g. *The baby can sometimes walk*). That participants rejected them could be due to the fact that in Chinese, *sometimes* never occurs between modal verbs and their VP complements, as in (23).

- (23) * Zhe ge xiaohai keyi youshihou zoulu.
This CL baby can sometimes walk.

Moreover, the order of two sentences appearing in a pair can affect the judgment too. Most of the multiple choice tests that Chinese students take are like those in the TOEFL test, that is, to pick only one correct answer from the choices given. Therefore, it is a widely used test strategy for the Chinese to stop reading the rest of the choices once they find a correct answer. Take one test item for example. It is very likely that after reading choice A, *Mary can speak Chinese slowly*, some participants immediately chose A without reading choice B, i.e. *Mary can slowly speak Chinese*. If this is the case, then the low acceptance of sentences like choice B does not necessarily indicate that they rejected them.

To sum up, the above speculations about some of the results show that there may be many factors interfering with the test results. However, there are several facts that are clear. First, the Chinese learners of English do allow *SVAdvO, but at a rate substantially lower than the French learners, which indicates L1 transfer is the pivotal cause. Second, they were much more successful in verb placement relative to negation than to adverbs, showing the effect of explicit classroom instruction. Third, comparatively speaking, Chinese

students were more successful in acquiring thematic verb placement in relation to adverbs (e.g. 66% for S-V-O-Manner Adv; 60% for S-Frequency Adv-V-O) than they were for non-thematic verb placement, with the highest rate being 46.67% for *SbeAdvXP* with manner adverbs, indicating that these Chinese learners had more difficulties here.

5.2. Regularity of Input

The fact that the Chinese learners of English accepted 29.67% of *SVAdvO in this study shows that L1 transfer alone is insufficient to account for it. In the following discussion, I attempt to suggest that the English input is another major cause for the SVAdvO errors.

Before conducting this study, my knowledge of English verb placement was rather subconscious. While sorting the data for this study, as a Chinese learner of English myself, I was surprised to notice the various possible positions that English allows for an adverb to appear in a sentence, as illustrated in (24).

- (24) (Stupidly,) they (stupidly) have (stupidly) been (stupidly) buying hog futures (, stupidly).
(From Ernst, 2002)

From (24) we can see that the only impossible position for English adverbs to occur is between thematic verbs and their direct objects. On top of these various surface orders of adverbs, their scope interpretation is also non-linear, as in (25):

- (25) a. John should obviously go.
b. Obviously, John should go.
c. John should go obviously (=in an obvious manner).
(From Ernst, 1995).

Sentence (25a) is ambiguous in the sense that *obviously* can have either a sentential interpretation as in (25b) or a manner interpretation as in (25c). These two factors combined make English adverb input potentially misleading for L2 learners, especially for beginners, who are likely to assume that adverbs can occur anywhere in an English sentence, resulting in the *SVAdvO order.

Compared with English, Chinese adverb input is crystal clear. Neither thematic verbs nor non-thematic verbs raise, and adverbials take the same scope at LF as they do at S-structure, as in (25).

- (25) a. Lisi **xianran** yingai qu.
Lisi obviously should go.
'Lisi should obviously go.'
b. *Lisi yinggai **xianran** qu.
Lisi should obviously go.
(From Ernst, 1995)

The unacceptability of (25b) shows that the adverb *xianran* 'obviously' can only take scope over *qu* 'go', as in (25a), but not *yinggai* 'should'.

This regularity of input may affect swift Interlanguage restructuring, leading to the overwhelming success of all the L2 learners of Chinese in their acquisition of verb placement relative to adverbs, as found in Yuan's (2001) study.

6.0. CONCLUSION

I started this study with the ambition of finding some solid explanations that could settle the heated arguments about the so-called verb raising phenomenon in L2 acquisition in the past decade. The results, however, are only tentative: L1 transfer and the regularity of input could be the two major causes of SVAdvO errors.

Several factors were found in this study that might have interfered with my participants' judgments of verb placement. They are listed here as the cautions for future test design. First, a lexical test should be included to make sure participants will be able to comprehend test items. Second, manner adverbs and frequency adverbs should not be tested in the same tense in English (e.g. simple present tense). Third, test items should appear individually rather than in minimal pairs. Finally, analysis of the test items in this study shows that the adverb *sometimes* differs from other frequency adverbs in its placement relative to verbs in both English and Chinese, thus it may not be a good candidate for testing adverb placement in general.

NOTES

1. It is possible to have an adverbial at the end of a sentence as a 'descriptive expression' (Tang, 1990, cited in Ernst, 1995). In this case, both the form and meaning of the sentence differ from its counterpart with a preverbal adverbial, as in (13c):
(13) c. *Zhangsan kai men kai de hen xiaoxin.*
Zhangsan open door open DE very careful.
'Zhangsan opened the door carefully.' ≈ ('Zhangsan's opening of the door was very careful.')
2. Four participants were later on excluded from this study because two of them rejected most of the test items by choosing 'Both are wrong.' The other two did three of the four fillers wrong, which showed that they did pay attention while taking the test.
3. The purpose for including PP's in White's experiment was to test whether the French learners had really reset their verb movement parameter in their Interlanguage after the explicit instruction, or if they just adopted the ad hoc strategy that 'adverbs cannot appear between the verb and something else.' Since this is irrelevant to the issue of verb raising, I treated sentences in SVAdvPP, SVPPAdv, SAdvVPP orders as fillers and did not report them in the results.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ITEM BANK FOR THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTITUTE READING COMPREHENSION TEST

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ABSTRACT

In addition to providing the traditional functions of facilitating the storage and retrieval of items, the item bank at the English Language Institute (ELI) at the University of Hawai'i is also the centerpiece of a more comprehensive test revision process. This paper focuses on the development of an item bank for the Reading Comprehension Test (RCT) section of the ELI placement battery. The rationale of item banking, technology involved, decisions on how to set up the bank, description of the development of new items, and introduction to the statistical analysis supporting item banking are discussed. Throughout the discussion, unforeseen setbacks and failed opportunities are also presented to highlight the fact that test development is at its heart a human activity.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This paper details the initial stages of a test revision project at an intensive English program (IEP), focusing on the creation of an item bank to facilitate test construction and promote continuous test revision. Despite being located in university settings, IEPs tend to be treated rather differently from other university programs because of their unique mission and history. (See Eskey, 1997; Kaplan, 1997 for discussion.) As has been noted by Davidson and Cho (2001), it is not uncommon for test revision in university-based EAP (English for Academic Purposes) programs to start as class projects, student papers, or from fortuitous circumstances. In that sense, the project reported here is no different; the spring semester of 2002 marked the first time in many years that any serious effort had been made to investigate and revise the placement tests used in the IEP. After a brief description of the IEP's placement procedures and an introduction to the idea of item banking, this paper will outline the first year of development, highlighting the connection between the creation of the item bank and continuous test development in general.

2.0. THE ELI AND THE ELIPT

The English Language Institute (ELI) at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa is an academic unit charged with providing English instruction for those matriculated university students for whom English is not a native language and who have not met the University's exemption requirements. Upon entering the University, students potentially needing ELI classes are required to take the English Language Institute Placement Test (ELIPT), a placement battery consisting of one writing, two reading, and two listening subtests. Based on their particular situation, incoming students will take the ELIPT in some or all curricular areas. A short historical overview of placement testing in the ELI can be found in Clark (2002) and a detailed description and rationale of the current placement battery, save for a few small changes in intervening years, can be found in Brown (1996). Table 1 shows the structure of the current ELIPT.

Table 1. The Current ELIPT

Test	Forms	Time	Items	Scoring
Writing Sample*	4	45	---	Holistic
Listening -Dictation	1	10	50 words	Each acceptable word is worth one point.
Academic Listening Comprehension Test (ALT)	1	40	40	Dichotomous right/wrong
BREAK	---	15	---	---
Reading-Cloze Test	1	35	50 words	Each acceptable answer is worth one point.
Reading Comprehension Test (RCT)	1	50	50	Dichotomous right/wrong

*For graduate students only. Undergraduate students take the Manoa Writing Test.

Based on their scores on the ELIPT sections as well as consideration of their academic record, students are either placed into one of two levels of ELI classes or exempted from further study in that particular area. For those areas with two subtests, the ELI considers the higher of the two scores for placement purposes. In any given semester, 75-80% of the incoming non-native English speaking students meet exemption requirements and are not required to take the ELIPT at all; of those students who take the ELIPT, between 40-50% will be

exempted in one or more curricular area based on their ELIPT scores (English Language Institute, 2004). Students take required ELI classes concurrently with other university classes, and all ELI classes are counted towards a students course load, though not all ELI classes are credit-bearing.

The ELIPT has retained its basic structure since 1986 and, although according to the *APA Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing* (American Educational Research Association, 1999), “[a]n apparently old test that remains useful need not be withdrawn or revised simply because of the passage of time” (Standard 3.18), it was clear when reviewing the ELIPT that the entire test battery was ready for revision. This was especially apparent in the Reading Comprehension Test (RCT) subtest in which some of the reading passages were clearly out of date, referring to the 1980s as recent and describing the new millennium as if it were still some years away. For these reasons, and because of the added technical difficulties in dealing with listening items, the RCT was chosen as the first subtest for revision.

3.0. THE RCT AND THE RATIONALE FOR ITEM BANKING

The RCT is a 50 question multiple-choice reading test. The first section consists of several reading passages each with four or more associated questions. The second section consists of discrete vocabulary items for which students must choose either a synonym or a definition. Both sections contain 25 items and each item has 4 possible options. It would have been possible to create an entirely new RCT version from scratch and pilot it on students in ELI reading classes and, in fact, this was the method used in developing the original test. This was not seen as the most desirable option, however, and a decision was made to develop an item bank for the entire ELIPT with the RCT as the first test to be banked.

If an item is defined as a single question on a test, then at its most basic level, item banking can be thought of as a system for keeping a collection of test items, much as one has a bank account to keep a collection of money. In practice, item banks can range from simple physical collections of items (perhaps on separate sheets of paper in a file cabinet) to completely computerized collections comprised of only carefully chosen and calibrated items (Umar, 1999). The advantage of having an item bank is that, essentially, one can custom-build a test for a particular purpose using only those items in the bank that are most directly relevant to the particular situation at hand, thus simplifying test construction. Additionally, the development of Item Response Theory (IRT) models of test analysis allow for the calculation of sample-independent estimates of item difficulty (van der Linden, 1999). An item bank populated with items calibrated along a single scale of difficulty provides a foundation for adaptive testing, that is, computer delivered tests that adapt to the ability of the test-taker by using the test-taker's response on the current item to determine whether to present a more or less difficult item next (Weiss & Schleisman, 1999). Because the item difficulty estimates are not tied to a particular group of examinees, test-takers do not have to take exactly the same set of items for their abilities to be compared (Henning, 1984).

In one sense, it could be argued that there is no need for an item bank for the ELI, as the ELI placement test represents a fairly singular purpose and delivering the test by computer is not currently feasible given various practical constraints, mitigating many of the advantages generally ascribed to item banking. One could counter, of course, that developing an item bank would allow for the future implementation of these possibilities, and, in fact, there is a possibility that the ELI placement test will have to be available online at some point in the future to cater to students pursuing their degrees through distance education. In actuality, however, other reasons provided the main impetus for developing an item bank for the RCT—the practical problem of pilot testing new test items and the desire for continuous rather than one-shot test development.

Whenever new test items are written, it is imperative that they be administered to a population with the same characteristics as the final target population to ensure that the items are technically sound, a procedure known as piloting. It is not uncommon for test developers to write considerably more items than will be finally needed so that those items not performing as expected can be discarded. It would be possible to administer experimental test items to current ELI students during class time, but many ELI teachers and students are justifiably vocal in their insistence that class time be used for instructional purposes only. Another option, sometimes used by large testing organizations, is to administer a new version of the test as an unscored experimental version alongside the current version during the actual testing session. Examinees would not know which of the two versions was experimental and which was operational. The advantage of this approach is that the experimental items are administered under actual placement test conditions. The main disadvantage, of course, is that administering two versions of the test at once would unacceptably lengthen the total testing time

for the placement test. In addition, creating a new version of the test as a whole might encourage the view that test development is a one-shot process that need not be continued once a new test has been developed.

For these reasons, it was clear that the institution of a test development procedure rather than merely the development of a single test was needed, and the creation of an ELIPT item bank, starting with items for the RCT, seemed like the most appropriate step. Under this framework, new items would be continuously added to the bank and experimental items would be piloted during each placement administration, not as whole versions of a new test, but in smaller batches integrated into the current test as unscored items. The placement test is given approximately seven times a year during two testing periods, so it would be possible to pilot a small number of items each time without unduly increasing overall test length. If the new items proved acceptable, they would be integrated into the operational test, replacing current items. By focusing on the continuous creation of new items for the item bank rather than on the creation of alternate test forms as a whole, it was hoped that continuous test development could be achieved, avoiding the long periods of test stagnation that had plagued the ELI in the past. As individual test items became dated, they could easily be replaced with new ones. Figure 1 shows this process in an idealized form. The various parts of Figure 1 should become clear as the discussion of the development of new items for the RCT is detailed.

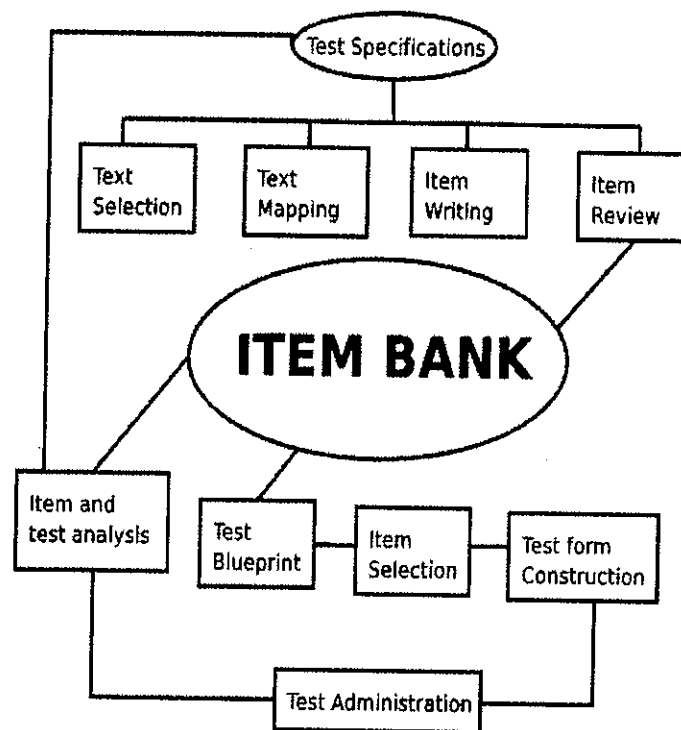


Figure 1. The test development process.

4.0. SETTING UP THE ITEM BANKING SYSTEM

Having determined what to do in a conceptual sense, it was now important to decide how to do it in a practical sense. Despite the various forms that item banks can take, all item banks serve three main functions (Ward & Murray-Ward, 1994):

1. item entry and storage
2. item retrieval for reviewing items, formatting test forms, and editing and updating items
3. maintenance of item history

From the outset, it was clear that the item bank would be computerized—anything less in this technological age does not make sense. It is possible to use virtually any database software to enter and store the

items, but retrieving items and generating test forms are better done with specialized software. Though the ELI's item bank was certainly not on the same scale as the statewide system described in Willis (1990), the choice of technology is important in both situations as the limitations in the system will dictate what can and cannot be done in the future. After investigating a few of the more promising options, a system consisting of a Scantron optical mark reader attached to a Windows computer running the ParSystem software suite (Scantron Corporation, 2002) was determined to provide the best combination of usability and flexibility. ParSystem consists of two integrated programs, ParTest for item banking and test generation, and ParScore for the machine-scoring of tests created through ParTest. Ironically, the ELI had actually used the same system in the past, albeit a much earlier version with a more cumbersome DOS interface, for scoring the multiple-choice sections of the ELIPT. However, due to a lack of university support, ELI teachers were forced to hand-score the computer answer sheets when the machine broke down. This continued for several semesters until money was finally found for a stand-alone scoring machine which, because it cannot interface with a computer, is not well-suited to item banking. This incident serves to illustrate how crucial it is for nontraditional entities like IEPs to be given the funding necessary to support the non-instructional aspects of their operation as well. Had the aging system been replaced as soon as it became non-functioning, it would have made the incorporation of item banking with test scoring a much smoother process as it would have simply entailed expanding the use of materials already in hand.

5.0. ENTERING ITEMS IN THE BANK

The item banking software provides the mechanical ability to search for items, choose items, assemble groups of items into a test, and print the assembled test. What the software does not provide is the information used to perform these tasks. In a very small item bank of, say, 50 items, it might be possible for the test developer to remember which reading items tested overall comprehension, which tested recognizing the author's tone, which items tested the ability to identify valid inferences, and so on. As the bank increases in size, however, it is important for the most salient characteristics of each item to be stored along with the items themselves so that an item meeting a particular combination of characteristics, such as a medium difficulty item that tests for recognizing the main idea of a paragraph can be quickly identified. Some item characteristics, such as the correct answer, are automatically stored as part of the item. Other characteristics must be input separately. This is accomplished through the use of keywords that help to describe the characteristics of each item in the bank. The ParTest software allows up to eight keyword categories to be assigned to any item bank, so the first decision was to determine which categories would be the most useful.

To identify useful keywords, it made the most sense to look at the items on the current version of the RCT to determine what types of identifiers would be most useful in describing those items. The decision to pilot new items within the current operational version of the RCT also made it necessary to enter the current RCT items into the bank in any case. Thus, the 50 items on the current version of the RCT became the first 50 items in the item bank. Certainly it would be necessary to differentiate between the experimental items and the operational items, so it seemed clear that one category was needed to describe the status of each item. Another obvious category was the type of item represented – main idea, detail question, etc. Test specifications of the current RCT had been “reverse engineered” (Davidson & Lynch, 2002) by examining the current test and developing item specifications to fit the items, and those specifications (Green & Lipske, 2002) were used to identify the item types on the current test. Additional categories were created for the source of the reading passage, the discipline, supplements to the item, cognitive type, and two categories for Rasch item calibration, discussed later. Table 2 shows these categories as well as the keywords associated with each. The ParTest software supports searches for any single or combination of keywords.

Table 2. Keywords in RCT Item Bank

Item Type	Item Status	Discipline	Source
Explicit detail	Experimental	Business	Internet
Extrapolation	Operational	General	Journal
Inference – Informational	Retired	Humanities	Literary work
Inference – Propositional	Unpiloted	Physical sciences	Magazine/newspaper
Lexical		Popular culture	Original
Main idea		Social science	Textbook
Summary			Unknown
Tone, audience			
Supplements	Cognitive Type	Calibration 1	Calibration 2
Passage w/ picture	Analysis	+3	0.00
Passage w/ table	Application	+2	0.01
Table or graph	Comprehension	+1	0.02
Text passage	Evaluation	+0	0.03
	Knowledge	-1	0.04
	Synthesis	-2	0.05

Once the keywords were determined, the final obstacle in entering the current RCT items into the bank concerned the nature of reading items in general. Item banking software treats each item as an individual entity that can be identified in terms of its keywords. Reading items, however, do not exist in isolation – they are dependent on the particular reading passage associated with the item. Although it would be possible to include the reading passage as a part of each individual item, that would mean that each passage would be repeated several times when assembling a test from the item bank, once for each associated item. As most passages on the RCT have four or five associated items, printing out the current test from the item bank would cause each passage to be printed four or five times, once for each question. Clearly that was not an acceptable situation. To get around this problem, the reading passages themselves were entered as instructions in the ParTest program. ParTest instructions are blocks of text that can be inserted any place in a test and can be identified by a unique name. Individual items were then labeled with a name corresponding to the name given to the passage. Thus, a passage about the Grand Canyon, for example, would be entered as an instruction called Canyon, and items associated with that passage would be labeled Canyon 001, Canyon 002, Canyon 003, etc. By doing this, items could retain both their association with a reading passage yet still be individual entries in the bank.

Once the items on the current RCT were entered into the bank, the current version of the RCT was essentially recreated by choosing all of the items in the bank and assembling them into a single test. Because the correct answer for each item is part of the item's characteristics, creating a test in this fashion also automatically generates the appropriate answer key, which is then available to the ParScore program. Using the optical mark reader, answer sheets for the RCT could then be scored with ParScore and various types of statistical information, such as how many people have taken the item and how frequently various options have been chosen, is automatically updated for each item in the ParTest item bank. To generate information on how the RCT items had been functioning recently, approximately two years of RCT results were scanned into the computer to update the individual item information.

6.0. CREATING NEW ITEMS

As originally envisioned, the existence of an item bank would allow for the more or less continuous creation of items. As the bank became populated, the most promising items would be piloted during the scheduled administration of the RCT as experimental items. If the items worked, they would be calibrated into the bank and would then be available as operational test items. If the items didn't work, they would be revised and returned to the bank for future piloting (cf. Figure 1). Though all items would be developed with the hope of eventually using them in the RCT, quantity rather than quality would be the first goal. To this end, a proposal to pay ELI teachers on a per-item basis to develop new RCT items was submitted to the Educational Improvement Fund. The drafting of teachers as item writers is a strategy often employed in developing item banks (e.g., Willis, 1990). Unfortunately, the application for funding was rejected and the creation of new items had to start on a smaller scale.

6.1. The Test Development Group

Due to a number of reasons having to do more with scheduling than anything else, a group of three people, including the author, were available to develop the initial items for the item bank. A second concern for the group, in addition to actually developing new test items, was to find ways to streamline the process so that decent items could be created within reasonable time expectations in the future.

6.2. Selecting Appropriate Texts

Obtaining texts. It was decided after informal discussions with the lead teacher for the reading skill area that the texts used in the placement test should be similar to the types of texts that incoming students are likely to encounter. A needs analysis of ELI reading for the reading skill area had identified textbooks, Internet sources, and journals as the types of materials most frequently needed by students (Ono, 2002). Therefore, introductory textbooks in general academic areas, Internet articles, and encyclopedia entries were searched to find potential texts. For the initial stages of the project, texts of similar length to those currently used in the RCT were collected, though future revisions of the test will probably try to incorporate more extensive readings as well.

Attempts to rank texts. As it turned out, of the three people in the test development group, two had never taught in the ELI before and the teacher with ELI experience had not taught in the reading curricular area. This is not a problem for the statistical analysis of the tests, but it does create a potential problem for item creation if the test developer is not familiar with the appropriate level of language for the target population. For this reason, shortcut methods for determining appropriate texts were sought. Although it is clear that text readability in terms of counts of objective features such as words-per-sentence does not correspond to text difficulty in terms of comprehension, a brief attempt was made to see if any readily available measures of text readability would be helpful in the initial stages of text selection, thus reducing dependence on other ELI teachers. This is not to imply that mechanical measures of selection by the testing specialist should replace informed judgment by ELI reading teachers, but rather to recognize the fact that the workload of most ELI teachers and their commitments to other curricular responsibilities precludes extensive collaboration for placement testing issues. There is also anecdotal evidence readability statistics have been effectively used in other banking projects (Roid, 1989).

To investigate the possibility of using this type of information, portions of the current RCT passages along with two potential new passages were analyzed. The readability features in Microsoft Word were used to calculate text readability. These include a calculation of the Flesch reading ease scale and the Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level score in addition to words-per-sentence. Vocabulary frequency profiles, based on the work of Nation (I. S. P. Nation, 1983, 1990, 2001; P. Nation & Newton, 1997), were also calculated by submitting the texts to an online engine (Cobb, n.d.). Table 3 shows the results of these calculations and Table 4 shows an attempt to rank the passages from difficult to easy based on selected measures. The passages themselves cannot be shown to protect test security.

Table 3. Vocabulary and Readability Statistics for Operational and Experimental RCT Passages

Text	K1 Words	K2 Words	AWL Words	Off-list	Type/token	WPS	Ease	Grade
A*	79.94	5.41	10.31	11.34	0.52	21.2	32.9	12
B	88.65	2.62	3.06	5.68	0.6	27.7	42.6	12
C	77.33	8.39	3.42	10.87	0.58	24.2	50.1	12
D*	67.73	10.06	7.19	15.02	0.49	22.7	27.7	12
E	72.48	9.79	2.45	15.29	0.58	21.6	50.9	11.5
F	84.34	6.76	0.71	8.19	0.56	13	78.4	5.4
G	78.52	6.04	7.72	7.72	0.63	22.9	41	12
H	68.18	6.61	7.85	17.36	0.65	19.9	36.5	12

Note: * denotes experimental passage, K1 Words = percentage of 1,000 most frequent words, K2 Words = percentage of 2,000 most frequent words, AWL = percentage of words on Academic Word List (Coxhead, 2000), Off-list = percentage of words not on frequency lists, WPS = words per sentence, Ease = Flesch Reading Ease scale, Grade = Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level score

Table 4. Ranking of Texts by Various Features

	By K1000	Off-list	Type/token	WPS	Ease	Grade
More	D*	H	H	B	D*	D*+
Difficult	H	E	G	C	A*	A*+
	E	D*	B	G	H	H+
	C	A*	E	D*	G	G+
	G	C	C	E	B	B+
	A*	F	F	A*	C	C+
	F	G	A*	H	E	E
Easier	B	B	D*	F	F	F

Note: * indicates experimental items. Items marked with + are identical in rank

As can be clearly inferred from the tables, although the information produced was somewhat interesting, it was of very little help in consistently ranking the texts. It would be possible to do more detailed analyses of these texts, but as the initial goal was to see if any readily available information could be exploited, a time-consuming analysis would defeat this purpose. On the positive side, the two experimental texts did seem to be similar to those texts on the operational RCT, indicating that texts chosen on the basis of general perceptions of appropriacy should be satisfactory. Additionally, drawing mainly on textbooks as a text source should give some consistency to the texts.

7.0. WRITING ITEMS

The process of item writing took place over several meetings of the test development group. The first meeting was devoted to looking at the types of items that were currently on the test to get a general feel for the difficulty level. The results of the readability experiment were also discussed and debated. Members were then told to collect two or more potential texts before the next meeting and bring several copies of each.

The next meeting was devoted to text-mapping. The idea of text mapping is to highlight those parts of a text that are most salient to someone encountering the text for the first time and this approach has been successfully used in EAP reading test development (Weir, Yang, & Yan, 2000). By creating items based on text maps, it is possible to avoid the problem of test developers creating questions resulted from the in-depth analysis of the text contents and the kinds of careful reading and rereading that are not realistically possible under the timed conditions of the test. During the second meeting, the group took turns reading the texts the other members had contributed. The procedure followed involved reading the text for four minutes and then jotting down ideas and arguments from the text without referring to the original. Notes were then compared for each text to see which ideas were consistently recorded. Ideas that were common among the readers of a given text were considered "fair game" for item writing. Each person was then given the notes that pertained to the texts that they had nominated and was instructed to write items based on the information in the notes.

The final meeting was devoted to discussion of the test items. Group members attempted each other's items and answers were compared. Potentially misleading or implausible distractors were discussed and each item writer was given a chance to defend his or her choices. The last task was to format the items and passages for uploading into the item banking software. The initial group of experimental items consisted of the four reading passages created by the development group as well as ten additional vocabulary items added at the behest of the ELI Assistant Director.

7.1. Preparing to Pilot New Items

The intention was always to pilot the new items as unscored items in the actual test administration. The advantage of piloting items in this fashion is that it would not detract time from regular ELI classes and the desire of the test-takers to complete the items seriously was not in question. An additional advantage is that the responses of students who are subsequently exempted from the ELI are also included, so it is possible to look at how the item functions over a slightly greater range of ability. The original plan was to essentially caboose the items onto the existing test, thus maintaining the integrity of the original test while allowing the new items to be piloted. Unfortunately, an unforeseen technical problem eliminated this possibility; the software that interfaced with the scanner to score the tests could only handle a maximum of 50 items. Because of this, it was necessary

to replace some of the operational items with experimental items, thus decreasing the possible total score on the operational test. This, in turn, required a renorming of the shortened test to account for the loss of items.

After discussions with the ELI Assistant Director, it was decided that two passages and related items be removed as well as several of the vocabulary items. The final decision was made primarily on the basis of perceived out-of-date or irrelevant passage content. In order to pilot the greatest number of items, two new versions of the test were created, each with the same operational items but different experimental items. To help minimize the potential for cheating or easy recognition of experimental items, the passages on the test are presented in slightly different orders for each of the forms. Table 5 shows the test blueprint for one of the new versions.

Table 5. Test Blueprint for Revised RCT

Category	Keyword	Item		Difficulty		Discrimination	
		Total	Operational*	Last	Cumulative	Last	Cumulative
Overall Test		50	37	56.36	58.92	0.41	0.38
1. Item Type	Explicit detail	18	11	61.05	62.76	0.4	0.34
1. Item Type	Inference-informational	3	3	54.74	64.36	0.34	0.32
1. Item Type	Inference-propositional	1	1	53.21	57.74	0.34	0.38
1. Item Type	Lexical	25	20	55.6	57.28	0.44	0.42
1. Item Type	Main idea	1	1	46.79	51.24	0.29	0.26
1. Item Type	Organization	1	0	-	-	-	-
1. Item Type	Tone/audience	1	1	37.61	41.92	0.22	0.2
2. Item Status	Operational	37	37	56.36	58.92	0.41	0.38
2. Item Status	Unpiloted	12	0	-	-	-	-
3. Discipline	Business	4	0	-	-	-	-
3. Discipline	General	21	20	55.6	57.28	0.44	0.42
3. Discipline	Humanities	9	9	46.99	52.88	0.37	0.3
3. Discipline	Physical science	4	0	-	-	-	-
3. Discipline	Social science	8	8	68.81	69.79	0.36	0.35
4. Source	Internet	4	0	-	-	-	-
4. Source	Original	21	20	55.6	57.28	0.44	0.42
4. Source	Textbook	13	9	61.57	65.49	0.4	0.35
4. Source	Unknown	8	8	52.41	55.61	0.34	0.3
5. Supplements	Text passage	25	17	57.26	60.84	0.37	0.32
6. Cognitive Type	Comprehension	21	16	58.49	62.02	0.38	0.33
6. Cognitive Type	Evaluation	1	1	37.61	41.92	0.22	0.2
6. Cognitive Type	Knowledge	20	20	55.6	57.28	0.44	0.42

Note: * pilot items excluded

The RCT does not currently have any explicit requirements for test content coverage, but looking at the test blueprint one can see that the majority of the items deal with vocabulary and explicit details. The item counts in the third column are for the entire test while the numbers in the fourth column show only the counts for the operational items. In the future, as the item bank becomes larger, it will be important to make sure that newly developed versions of the test do not draw too heavily from any one item type. The fact that there is only one item dealing with identifying the author's tone or potential audience on the test (and hence in the bank) also suggests that more items of this type should be created in the future. Statistical information based on the history of the various items is also presented for the most recent administration as well as the cumulative averages from all previous administrations.

8.0. CALIBRATING THE ITEM BANK

With the new items created and two new versions of the RCT generated, there was one final, technical step that had to be taken before the RCT was ready for administration. In order to prepare the item bank for the

addition of new operational items should the experimental items prove satisfactory, it was first necessary to calibrate the items on the current RCT.

9.0. TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF CALIBRATION

Because the item bank will eventually hold more items than will appear on any one test form, it is important that all of the items be located on a common scale of difficulty. If calibrated item difficulties are known, then students' ability can be estimated in relation to their performance on items of various difficulties. As long as there are some common items linking the various forms of a test, students' performance can be compared even though they have not necessarily been tested using the same items. This way, though the particular items on the RCT can be continually changing as new items are added and old items are retired, the ability estimates of the examinees will be comparable. The ParSystem software allows for the calculation of classical item statistics, but these are insufficient for calibration as the estimation of a given item's difficulty depends upon the particular sample of people attempting the item (Henning, 1984). This can clearly be seen in Table 5 where the difficulty estimates for the most recent administration differ, sometimes greatly, from the cumulative difficulty estimates. For these reasons, a more recent approach, known generally as Item Response Theory (IRT), is commonly employed in the calibration of item banks. Since several semesters worth of RCT results had been scanned into the computer when setting up the item bank, a sample of approximately 850 examinee responses was available to calculate the item difficulties. The following short summary of the procedures used and their justifications can be skipped by those less technically inclined.

Model choice. The simple logistic model developed by Rasch (Rasch, 1960/1980) was used to analyze the RCT and calibrate the items. The choice of the Rasch model over the more complex 2-parameter or 3-parameter IRT models was based on both theoretical and practical grounds. The theoretical rationale for Rasch has been extensively argued in the literature (e.g., Andrich, 1989; Bond & Fox, 2001; Wright, 1997; Wright & Stone, 1979). From a purely practical point of view, the relatively small sample size in any given RCT administration would be insufficient to meet the size requirements of the 2- or 3-parameter models (Henning, 1987). Albeit not entirely user-friendly, the use of free software such as Bigsteps (Linacre & Wright, 1998) was also a consideration, as the ELI has no specific testing budget. Also, from a practical point of view, though with a theoretical basis, the fact that the total test score is a sufficient statistic for items and persons that fit the Rasch model means that the ELI administration can continue to interpret total test scores as before and the Rasch analyses can take place behind the scenes for item calibration and test form equating.

Statistical treatment of reading items. Because the first half of the RCT consists of reading passages with multiple questions per passage, the question arises of how to best treat the items in that section – as individual dichotomous items or as part of an item set or bundle in which each passage and related questions are treated as a single polychotomous item. It has been noted that when several items share a common stimulus, they may lack the local independence that the Rasch model requires because individual items within each bundle are likely to show a greater degree of dependence than items across bundles (Andrich, 1988). However, treating items as sets has the disadvantage that information about how individual questions within the item bundle are functioning is lost. Treating potentially dependent items as item bundles can also affect reliability estimates (Wainer & Thissen, 1996). Because students still have access to the original passage while answering the questions, unlike listening comprehension tests in which the initial comprehension of a passage will impact all of the questions related to that passage, it was decided to treat the items as dichotomous unless evidence could be found that they were not behaving that way. Doing this allows for the calibration and future banking of individual items and leaves open the possibility of revising items on an individual basis. Though not presented here, evidence that the items are not overly interdependent was obtained by performing a principal component analysis on item residuals.

Checking test speededness. The RCT has a time limit of 50-minutes, and it is assumed that this is a sufficient amount of time for students to complete all of the items. However, this is not universally the case. One assumption underlying a latent-trait approach is that only one trait is being measured at a time. For this reason, it is important that the test not be given under speeded conditions unless that is a part of the construct of interest. Generally, evidence that most of the examinees can finish the test within the allotted time and that most of the items are answered by every student is used to show that speededness is not a factor (Hambleton, Swaminathan, & Rogers, 1991, p. 57). On the RCT, no item was completed by fewer than 97% of the students and the average student completed 98.4% of the items. Table 6 shows the percentage of students completing various percentages of the items on the test. It should be noted that students who have chosen not to answer

certain items for reasons other than time pressure will somewhat inflate these percentages. From these figures, it is safe to say that test speededness is not a factor.

Table 6. RCT Test Completion

	Items completed	Percent of students
	all of the items	74.06%
Students who completed...	more than 95% of the items	93.9%
	more than 90% of the items	97.1%
	more than 85% of the items	97.4%
	more than 80% of the items	98.4%

Note: N = 852

9.1. Rasch-Based Analysis

Person and item distribution. The data were initially analyzed with both the Bigsteps (Linacre & Wright, 1998) program and the RUMM2010 (Andrich, Sheridan, & Luo, 2000) program, for which the author held a temporary license. The reason for using RUMM2010 was to take advantage of the graphical capabilities of the RUMM program for the purposes of illustration (e.g. Figure 2). Because the estimation algorithms and default convergence criteria are different for the two programs, the location estimates of the students and items differ slightly. The Bigsteps estimates will be used for the equating trial discussed later and is the program actually used in calibrating the ELI item bank.

Person separation reliability (analogous to Cronbach alpha) was estimated at 0.85. Figure 2 shows the distribution of person and item locations on the same logit scale. It is clear from this figure that although the items generally bracket the ability level of the students, there are fewer items at the upper end of the scale. This is not necessarily a weakness, as these data include students who were exempted from further ELI study. For students at the upper end of the scale, it is not necessary to know any more about their ability than the fact that they do not need classes in the ELI. The more important question is whether or not the information at the cut points is being maximized. *Approximate* cut points are shown as dark vertical lines.

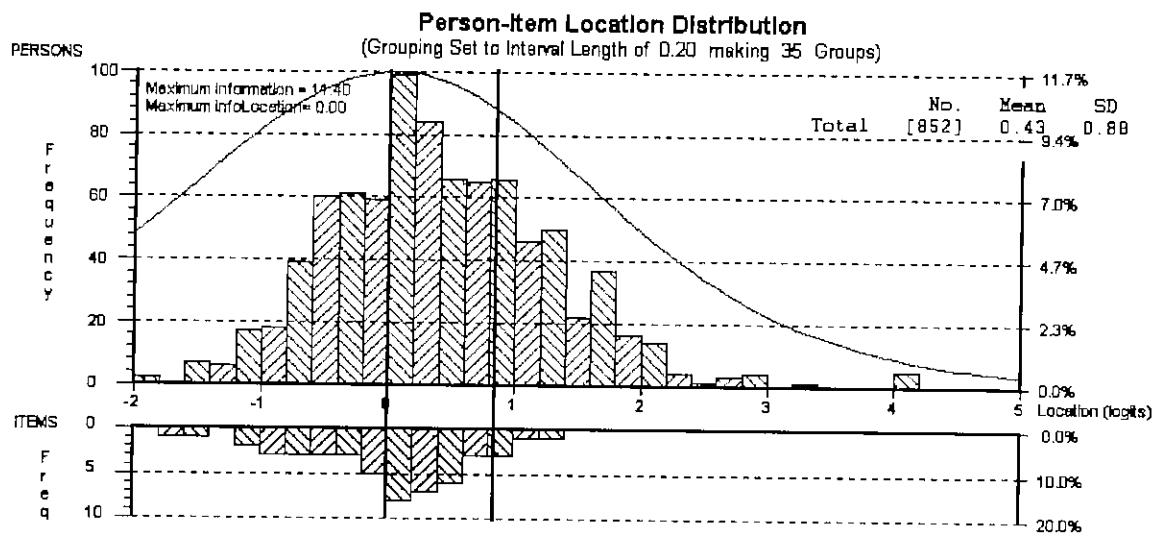


Figure 2. Person-item location distribution with information curve

Information is currently maximized only at the first cut point, which represents the decision point for placement into intermediate (ELI 72) or advanced (ELI 82) reading. Because this test is primarily used for placement into ELI classes, this is perfectly reasonable and acceptable and provides evidence that, despite being rather old, the RCT was still functioning satisfactorily. However, the RCT is also used to exempt students from requirements in the reading curricular area, the decision represented by the second cut point. For this reason, it

was decided that one goal for future item development would be to produce items at approximately that level of difficulty to maximize information at that cutpoint as well.

Model fit. As a mathematical model, the Rasch model represents an unachievable ideal and “no items and persons will ever perfectly fit the model” (Bond & Fox, 2001, p. 208). Therefore, the question of model fit is really one of how much of a departure from perfection is permissible while still being able to make useful measures. To make final item calibrations for the RCT item bank, a much more extensive study of fit will be necessary. In general, however, most of the items on the RCT showed a reasonable fit, and all had infit mean square values in the 0.7 – 1.3 range.

The unidimensionality assumption was checked by inspecting the scree plot from a principal components analysis performed on the tetrachoric interitem correlation matrix. Though more than one factor had an eigenvalue of over one, the first factor was clearly dominant.

9.2. Simulating New Item Calibration

With the items on the original RCT calibrated, it was then possible to attempt a trial run at calibrating new items into the same frame of reference as items from the original RCT. This is to ensure that students could take different versions of the RCT and the item calibrations would still be fairly stable. The procedure followed was essentially that outlined in Wright and Stone (1979). To simulate the two separate test administrations, the 852 students were split into two groups, labeled A and B. Next, two slightly different versions of the RCT were created by deleting 13 different items from each group’s test. The 13 items were chosen to represent two reading passages with four questions each as well as five vocabulary items. This created a 37-item test for each group of which 24 of the items were common to both the A and B groups. Thus, between the two groups, all 50 items on the current RCT were represented. Two Rasch analyses were performed; the first with all of the students responses to all of the items and the second with only those student responses that corresponded to those items that belonged to their particular 37-item version of the test. Comparing the item difficulty estimates from the two runs gives a measure of how well or how poorly new items would be calibrated with items already in the bank.

The correlation between the items on the whole test and split test runs was $r = 0.998$, and visual inspection of Figure 3 provides visual evidence that the item calibrations were very close. The correlation between ability estimates for the students was $r = 0.976$. These results confirm that tests containing new items can be successfully calibrated into the bank.

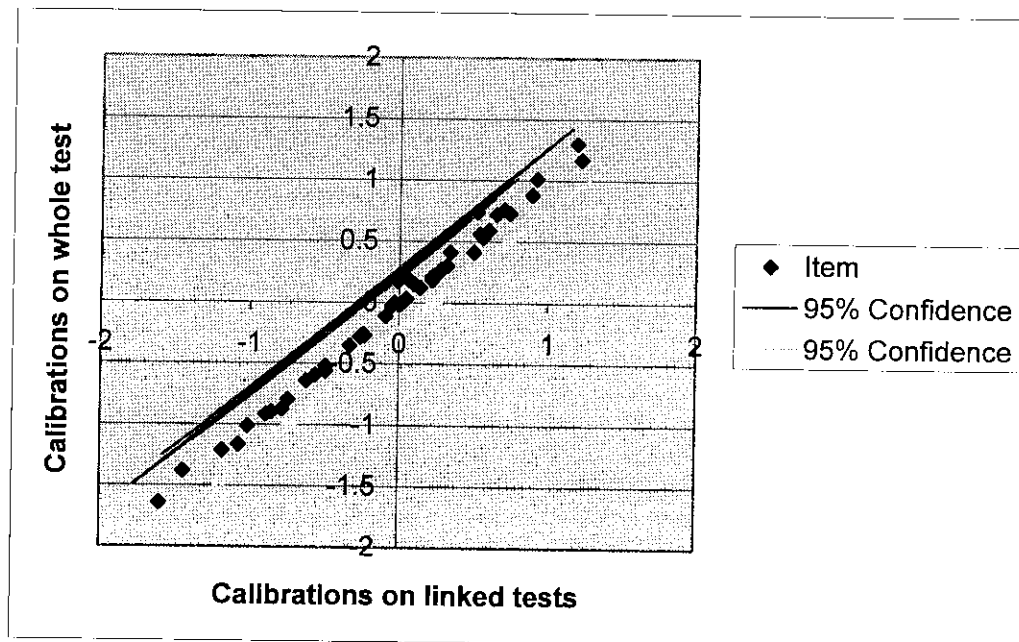


Figure 3. Comparison of item calibrations on entire RCT test and linked RCT forms.

10.0. ADMINISTERING THE NEW TESTS

The two revised versions of the RCT, containing 37 items from the original RCT along with 13 of the newly created items, were administered during the Fall 2003 placement session. This marks the first substantial revision to the RCT in several years. Unfortunately, the newly created items did not function as well as had been expected and it was determined that they would need to be revised and piloted a second time before they could become operational. Had the items worked as planned, they would have been calibrated into the bank, following the procedure outlined previously, becoming part of the current RCT, and another set of experimental items would have been selected to be piloted in the next placement session.

11.0. CONCLUSION

This paper described the development of the ELI item bank by examining the Reading Comprehension Test (RCT). Although problems with implementation still exist and the experimental items did not work as well as planned, there does seem to be sufficient cause for optimism that an item bank is a viable option. In that spirit, the following observations and suggestions are presented for future work on the RCT, some of which have already been implemented in the second year of the project.

1. Although the item banking software is fairly straight-forward, it is important to create a simplified user's manual and train several people in using the system so the knowledge of the process does not get lost if budget constraints again adversely affect the ELI. As has been noted by Roid (1989), "the installation of test editing or item banking software by itself does not ensure cost effectiveness in the absence of human resources to operate and maintain the system" (p. 17).
2. In the same vein as the first point, though requiring a little more expertise, a user-friendly manual also needs to be developed for doing item calibration using the Rasch software.
3. At the item development stage, more input is needed from the ELI reading teachers. Circulating experimental items for review by teachers before piloting would be a good idea.
4. Similar to the point above, pretesting of the items prior to actual piloting may help to identify the most obviously problematic items. As some of the ELI reading instructors use weekly timed readings with passages similar in length to those on the RCT, it might be possible to occasionally pretest experimental passages and items as timed-readings in actual ELI classes. Of course, test security would have to be maintained.

Since the first year of the project described in this paper, substantial progress has already been made. Documentation of the project, such as this paper, has begun. The experimental items were revised and piloted during another placement session. The revised items worked well and are in the process of being calibrated into the bank. The ELI now has a different testing specialist, and the smooth transition bodes well for the continuation of the project irrespective of personnel changes. With any luck, the work that has been started on the ELI item bank will continue in the coming years.

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FLAPPING IN JAPANESE LEARNERS' CONNECTED SPEECH OF ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT

Flapping of intervocalic /t/ and /d/ is a phenomenon commonly observed in North American English connected speech. Japanese has a flap [ɾ] in its phonetic inventory and thus it can be predicted that Japanese L1 speakers will be able to produce the sound correctly in English speech. However, previous research showed that this prediction does not hold in every instance (Schmidt, 1989). The present study aims at examining Japanese ESL learners' flapping patterns in English connected speech. Three native speakers of Japanese and three native speakers of English read prepared texts (Šimáčková, 2000), which were recorded. The recorded data was analyzed acoustically. The results indicate that the nonnative speakers produced fewer flaps than native speakers. Furthermore, it was found that the nonnative speakers flapped most frequently when the intervocalic environment for /t/ and /d/ occurred across word boundaries, less frequently in morpheme final position, and least frequently in morpheme internal position. This finding may be attributed to the nonnative speakers' syllabification pattern.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Connected/fast speech rules have been discussed in phonology literature with data drawn mainly from native speakers' speech (e.g., Hasegawa, 1979; Nolan, 1992; Zsiga, 1995; Zwicky, 1972). Although L2 learners' speech has also been examined in SLA literature, little of it focuses on connected/fast speech in L2. The aim of this paper is to investigate the characteristics of Japanese L1 speakers' connected speech in English as a second language (ESL). The present study focuses particularly on flapping in their English speech.

2.0. FLAPPING

2.1. Flapping In ESL/EFL Speech

In North American English (NAE), underlying /t/ and /d/ occurring between a stressed vowel and an unstressed vowel are flapped and become [ɾ] (Kreidler, 1989). For example, *city* is pronounced as [sɪɾi], and *wedding* is pronounced as [wɛɾɪŋ] (Kreidler, 1989, p.109). However, flapping is an optional process subject to phonological conditions as well as extraphonological conditions such as speech style, speech rate, or lexical frequency (Port & Mitleb, 1983; Šimáčková, 2000). Šimáčková (2000) describes common instances of flapping in American English as follows:

- (a) Word-medial alveolar stops between a stressed vowel and an unstressed vowel are flapped: *city, ready*.
- (b) Word-medial alveolar stops between two unstressed vowels are also often flapped: *security, carpeted, parody*.
- (c) Word-final alveolar stops may be flapped before a vowel irrespective of its stress, providing that a pause does not interfere: *get away, get Andrew, fed up, instead of* (p. 42).

Although flapping is a common phenomenon observed in NAE connected speech, Celce-Murcia, Brinton, and Goodwin (1996) claim that "most learners are unaware of the flap allophone in NAE. This can mark their speech as foreign" (p. 65). Thus, those learners' lack of awareness of flap allophones seems to be one factor making their English speech sound nonnative.

Several studies have been done to examine flapping in ESL/EFL. Port and Mitleb (1983), for example, compared the amount of flapping in American English speakers' speech with that of two nonnative speaker groups whose native language is Jordanian Arabic. The two groups of nonnative speakers differed in their length of residence in an English speaking country; all members of one group had lived for 12 to 16 months in the United States, while none of the other group had lived in an English speaking country. The results revealed that nonnative speakers with no experience of residing in an English speaking country produced a flap much less than both native speakers and nonnative speakers with the experience of residing in the United States. No statistically significant difference was found between the native speaker group and the nonnative group who had

lived in the United States. Laeuffer (1996) also found a strong effect of length of exposure to L2 on the frequency of flap. In addition, her study showed that the tempo of speech influenced the incidence of flaps; faster speech contains more flaps regardless of their closure duration. Based on her findings about various phonetic characteristics, Laeuffer suggests that "the most easily acquired parameters are those which are both salient and for which there exist native variants similar to L2" (p. 139).

Young-Scholten (1994) reports a study in which she found German learners of English flapped more in the word-internal environment than across word boundaries. This result contradicts the findings in Šimáčková (1997). Czech EFL learners in Šimáčková (1997) produced more word-final flapping than word-medial flapping. She accounts for this result as "the transfer of the L1 syllabification pattern into L2" (p. 48). In Czech, "a single word-medial intervocalic consonant is always syllabified with the vowel on its right," thus *getting* and *city* are syllabified as [gɛ.tɪŋ] and [sɪ.tɪ] respectively by Czech L1 speakers (Šimáčková, 1997, p.47). Šimáčková (2000) further examined flapping by Czech EFL learners. In the flapping experiment, she compared flaps occurring in five different positions: morpheme-internal (Position 1), morpheme-final (Position 2), across a word boundary within a single prosodic word (Position 3), across the prosodic word boundary (Position 4), and across the boundary of a phonological phrase (Position 5). One of her findings is that the closure duration of medial /t/'s is shorter than closure duration of final /t/'s in learners' speech, whereas neither the native speakers nor the learners differentiated medial /d/'s from final /d/'s in closure duration. The analysis of the closure duration in all the positions also showed that the boundary strength increased from Position 1 to Position 5.

2.2. Flapping in Japanese Learners' Speech of English

The Japanese liquid sound is often a flapped sound, /r/, that is similar to the intervocalic /t/ and /d/ in American English (e.g., /t/ in *city* becomes [r]) (Price, 1981; Riney & Anderson-Hsieh, 1993). Thus, we can expect the Japanese learners to be able to produce the sound. But whether or not they can actually produce the sound is an open question. Riney and Anderson-Hsieh (1993) encourage researchers to work on a comprehensive description of Japanese pronunciation of English, which could contribute applications in pedagogy. Thus, it is important to examine Japanese learners' flapping patterns for theoretical as well as pedagogical reasons.

3.0. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The present study attempts to examine Japanese learners' application of flapping in their English connected speech. Since this aspect of speech production has not been explored in previous research on Japanese ESL learners' speech, the results of this study can potentially provide further information on their speech patterns. The following research questions are formulated in this study.

1. How often do Japanese learners flap intervocalic /t/ and /d/ in connected/fast speech?
2. Is the frequency of learners' flapping sensitive to phonological contexts of the sound?

4.0. METHODS

4.1. Participants

There were six participants in this study: three native speakers of English (two males, one female), and three nonnative speakers (one male, two females). All the participants were graduate students at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa at the time of data collection. The nonnative participants were all Japanese L1 speakers. Their English proficiency level is advanced as shown by their TOEFL scores upon their entry to the graduate program ranging from 610 to 630. The characteristics of the participants are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Characteristics of Participants

ID	Gender	Age	L1	Length of residence in US
NS1	F	52	English (Hawaiian)	—
NS2	M	28	English	—
NS3	M	54	English (West Coast)	—
NNS1	F	28	Japanese	1 year 8 months
NNS2	F	25	Japanese	2 years 6 months
NNS3	M	28	Japanese	3 years 8 months

4.2. Stimuli

In this study, three phonological contexts of /t/ and /d/ were examined: morpheme internal (e.g., *attitude*, *steady*), morpheme final (e.g., *getting*, *needed*), and across word boundary within a single prosodic word (e.g., *right away*, *showed up*). This selection of positions was based on Šimáčková (2000). Although Šimáčková (2000) compared five different positions of /t/ and /d/, only three out of the five positions were investigated in the present study to simplify the comparisons across positions.

Five stimulus items for /t/ and /d/ in each context were chosen with an attempt to control their stress patterns. These items were also taken from Šimáčková (2000). Table 2 shows a list of stimulus items used in this experiment.

Table 2. Stimulus Items

	/t/	/d/
Morpheme internal	kitties	lady
	attitude	steady
	city	radical
	pretty	ready
	noticed	Friday
Morpheme final	getting	feeding
	meeting	needed
	heated	wedding
	promoted	reading
	created	bleeding
Across word boundary	right away	fed up
	get up	showed up
	put up	instead of
	get away	tried it
	get even	stood up

Note. Bold letters represent a part which is expected to be flapped.

4.3. Data Collection

The data was elicited by having the participants read four texts taken from Šimáčková (2000) while they were tape-recorded. Two of the texts were dialogue style texts which consisted of sentences uttered by one interlocutor in an imaginary dialogue, whereas the other two were monologue style texts. Many previous studies employed decontextualized texts in data elicitation; however, whether or not the texts are contextualized can affect the application of flapping in connected speech. If texts are not contextualized, participants may read the texts more carefully (Šimáčková, 2000). Therefore, use of contextualized texts can elicit more natural utterance, though not as natural as spontaneous speech. The data collection was conducted in a quiet recording room to avoid any outside noise.

4.4. Acoustic Analysis

The collected data was digitized and analyzed acoustically with waveforms and spectrograms using PCQuirer to determine whether the target sound was a flap or not. Judgment of whether or not the intervocalic /t/'s and /d/'s were flapped was based on Šimáčková (2000). Four aspects of the single sound were measured acoustically: closure duration, presence or absence of a release burst, voice onset time (VOT), and the voicing duration of the closure. The following four conditions were regarded as characteristics of a flap:

1. closure duration under 40 ms
2. absence of a release burst
3. 0 ms VOT
4. duration of the voicing being more than 50% of the closure.

When three out of the four above conditions were satisfied, the sound was categorized as a flap.

5.0. RESULTS

The analysis of total frequency of flapping reveals that native speakers flapped more often than nonnative speakers. Table 3 presents the grouped frequency of flaps in native speakers' and nonnative speakers' speech.

Table 3. Total Frequency of Flaps in NSs' and NNSs' Speech

	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> (%)	<i>SD</i>
NS	3	90.00	11.55
NNS	3	63.30	21.86

Figure 1 shows the data given in Table 3 graphically.

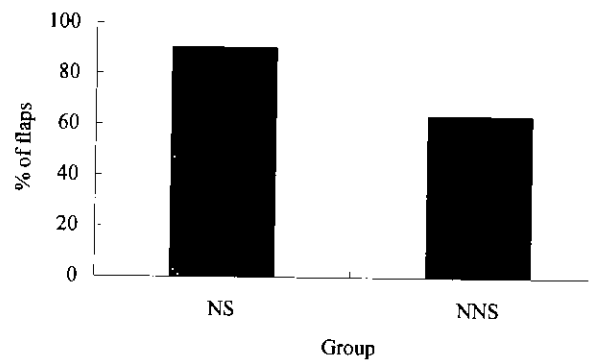


Figure 1. Total frequency of flaps in NSs' and NNSs' speech

This result is analyzed more in detail. The first comparison is between /t/ and /d/. Šimáčková (2000) suggested that /d/ is more likely to be categorized as a [r] because "acoustically [d]'s are closer to flaps than [t]'s are" (p. 137). However, this trend was not clearly observed in the present data as provided in Figure 2.

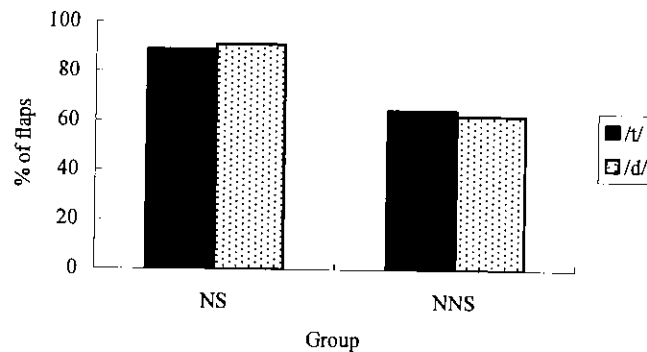


Figure 2. Total frequency of flapped /t/ and /d/

The overall pattern does not reveal a large difference between /t/ flaps and /d/ flaps in both native and nonnative speech. However, as Table 4 shows, there is individual variation found in the data.

Table 4. Individual Participant's Frequency of Flapped /t/ and /d/

ID	% of flapped /t/	% of flapped /d/
NS1	73.30	80.00
NS2	100.00	93.33
NS3	93.33	100.00
NNS1	46.67	33.33
NNS2	80.00	86.67
NNS3	66.67	66.67

It should be noted here that NS 1 speaks Hawaiian English, and this fact might have affected the data. The other two native speakers (NS 2 and NS 3) flapped more than 90% of both /t/'s and /d/'s; however, NS 1 flapped only 73.3% of /t/'s and 80% of /d/'s. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the difference between native and nonnative speakers would be even greater when compared with native speakers from mainland United States.

The second comparison involves the results of the three phonological contexts, and this reveals interesting findings. Table 5 provides the grouped frequency of flapping in each phonological context, and the same data is graphically illustrated in Figure 3.

Table 5. Total Frequency of /t/, /d/ Flapping in Three Phonological Contexts

	Morpheme internal		Morpheme final		Across word boundary	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
NS	86.67	15.28	93.33	5.77	90.00	17.32
NNS	53.33	5.77	63.33	40.41	73.33	20.82

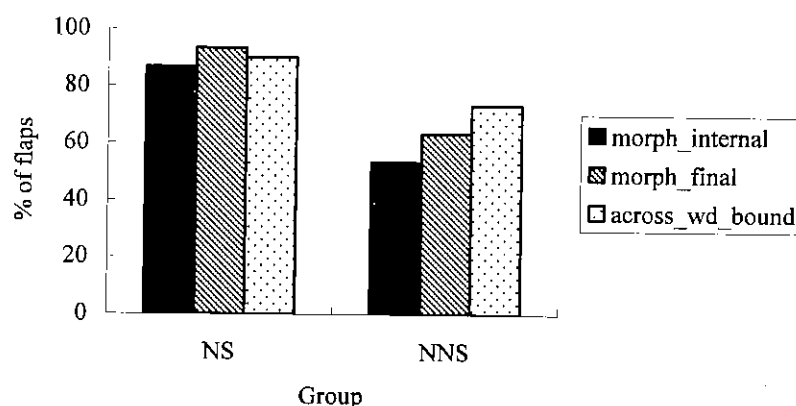


Figure 3. Total frequency of /t/, /d/ flapping in three phonological contexts

As shown here, nonnative speakers flapped across word boundaries most frequently, in morpheme final position less frequently, and in morpheme internal position least frequently. This finding is similar to Šimáčková (1997, 2000). However, the standard deviations of nonnative speakers' flapping for morpheme final positions and across word boundaries are large, which indicates that there was a spread of the frequency among the three speakers. That is to say, their performance was not homogeneous. Thus, replicating the study with a larger sample size is strongly recommended, controlling variables such as length of residence in an English speaking country.

When the data collection was completed, NNS 2, who flapped most frequently among the three nonnatives, commented that she tended to flap within words, but not across word boundaries. However, the results demonstrated that she produced across word boundary flaps more than morpheme internal flaps.

6.0. DISCUSSION

Before providing the interpretations and the discussion of the results, the findings will be summarized here. The nonnative speakers flapped much less than the native speakers in general. Although individual variations are observed in flapping frequency of /t/'s and /d/'s, only a small difference was found between the two stops in both native and nonnative speakers' speech. Furthermore, the analysis of the data according to phonological contexts indicated that nonnative speakers' frequency of flapping decreased in the following order: across word boundaries, in morpheme final position, and in morpheme internal position.

One possible explanation for the nonnative speakers' most frequent flapping of intervocalic /t/'s and /d/'s across word boundary is word frequency effect. Table 6 shows a list of word frequencies of the stimulus items, taken from Johansson and Hofland (1989)¹.

Table 6. Word Frequency of Stimulus Items

Phonological context	Sounds	Stimulus items	Word frequency
Morpheme internal	/t/	<i>kitties</i>	(as <i>kitty</i>) 2
		<i>attitude</i>	104
		<i>city</i>	160
		<i>pretty</i>	104
		<i>noticed</i>	67
	/d/	<i>lady</i>	66
		<i>steady</i>	48
		<i>radical</i>	19
		<i>ready</i>	138
		<i>Friday</i>	29
Morpheme final	/t/	<i>getting</i>	177
		<i>meeting</i>	248
		<i>heated</i>	18
		<i>promoted</i>	9
		<i>created</i>	49
	/d/	<i>feeding</i>	52
		<i>needed</i>	131
		<i>wedding</i>	56
		<i>reading</i>	136
		<i>bleeding</i>	13
Across word boundary	/t/	<i>right away</i>	not available
		<i>get up</i>	43
		<i>put up</i>	5
		<i>get away</i>	31
		<i>get even</i>	not available
	/d/	<i>fed up</i>	not available
		<i>showed up</i>	not available
		<i>instead of</i>	not available
		<i>tried it</i>	not available
		<i>stood up</i>	not available

Word frequency for most of the across word boundary items is unavailable, but these phrases are likely to be remembered as chunks by learners. Future research should compare different types of across word boundary items. For example, as in Šimáčková (2000), the comparison of across word boundary items with across prosodic word boundary items as well as across boundary of phonological phrase items will provide further understanding of ESL flapping.

Another aspect to take into consideration is loan words from English found in Japanese. Some of the stimulus items used in this study exist in Japanese as loan words, e.g., *city*, *lady*, and *wedding*. As loan words, these items are more familiar to the nonnative speakers, and thus the pronunciation of those words might be affected by their familiarity. Furthermore, since those loan words carry Japanese pronunciation, in which flapping does not occur, it can be speculated that the nonnative speakers flap /t/'s and /d/'s less in the loan words. As shown in Table 7, however, frequency of flapping in loan words and non-loan words is inconsistent, which suggests that whether or not the items are loan words did not influence the data in this study.

Table 7. Grouped Frequency of Flapping for Each Stimulus Item

Phonological context	Sounds	Stimulus items	NS	NNS
Morpheme internal	/t/	<i>kitties</i>	3	3
		<i>attitude</i>	1	0
		<i>city</i>	2	3
		<i>pretty</i>	3	2
		<i>noticed</i>	3	1
	/d/	<i>lady</i>	3	2
		<i>steady</i>	3	1
		<i>radical</i>	3	2
		<i>ready</i>	2	1
		<i>Friday</i>	3	1
Morpheme final	/t/	<i>getting</i>	3	3
		<i>meeting</i>	3	2
		<i>heated</i>	3	2
		<i>promoted</i>	2	1
		<i>created</i>	3	1
	/d/	<i>feeding</i>	3	3
		<i>needed</i>	3	1
		<i>wedding</i>	3	2
		<i>reading</i>	3	2
		<i>bleeding</i>	2	2
Across word boundary	/t/	<i>right away</i>	3	3
		<i>get up</i>	2	3
		<i>put up</i>	3	3
		<i>get away</i>	3	2
		<i>get even</i>	3	0
	/d/	<i>fed up</i>	2	3
		<i>showed up</i>	2	2
		<i>instead of</i>	3	3
		<i>tried it</i>	3	2
		<i>stood up</i>	3	1

Note. Japanese has loan words for highlighted English words. They were listed as loan words in Yagasaki (1993). Those listed as a part of a compound word are also highlighted as a loan word.

The most likely explanation for the nonnative speakers' most frequent flapping of across word boundary items may be the effect of a syllabification pattern in their L1 on their pronunciation in L2, as suggested by Šimáčková (1997). Native speakers syllabify words as follows:

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. | Morpheme internal | <i>city</i> | <i>ready</i> |
| | | [sit.i] | [red.i] |
| 2. | Morpheme final | <i>getting</i> | <i>feeding</i> |
| | | [get.ɪŋ] | [fid.ɪŋ] |
| 3. | Across word boundary | <i>get away</i> | <i>instead of</i> |
| | | [get.əweɪ] | [ɪnstəd.əv] |

Syllable-final stops become flaps in these words. On the other hand, Japanese L1 speakers may prefer the CV (consonant vowel) syllabification pattern due to their L1 and therefore may be likely to syllabify the morpheme internal words as follows:

4.	Morpheme internal		<i>city</i>	<i>ready</i>
		NSs	[sɪt.i]	[red.i]
		Japanese speakers	[sɪ.ti]	[re.di]

Flaps of the morpheme internal condition occur across syllable boundaries, whereas flaps in the other two phonological contexts occur across morpheme boundaries and word boundaries. It can be speculated that the existence of these upper-level boundaries, especially word boundaries that are more salient to nonnative speakers than morpheme boundaries, encourages English-like syllabification.

5.	Morpheme final		<i>getting</i>	<i>feeding</i>
		NSs	[get.ɪŋ]	[fid.ɪŋ]
		Japanese speakers	[ge.tɪŋ] or [get.ɪŋ]	[fi.dɪŋ] or [fid.ɪŋ]
6.	Across word boundary		<i>get away</i>	<i>instead of</i>
		NSs	[get.əweɪ]	[ɪnstəd.əv]
		Japanese speakers	[ge.təweɪ] or [get.əweɪ]	[ɪnstə.dəv] or [ɪnstəd.əv]

Resulting from English-like syllabification, nonnative speakers' production of flapping increases in morpheme final items and across word boundary items.

6.1. Future Research

This is a pilot study with a small sample size ($n=6$), and thus future studies should be encouraged to use a larger sample size. The nonnative speakers' English proficiency level was also limited to advanced in the present study. As Šimáčková (1997) demonstrates, learners' flapping patterns may vary across different proficiency levels. This should motivate research which compares the flapping patterns of Japanese ESL/EFL learners at different proficiency levels. Likewise, the comparison of ESL learners with EFL learners might provide additional information because the amount of exposure to L2 is a candidate for influential factors of flapping frequency (Laeuffer, 1996; Port & Mitleb, 1983). As suggested earlier, the inclusion of other phonological contexts is another aspect to be considered in future research.

7.0. CONCLUSION

The present study aimed at providing further understanding of nonnative speakers' flapping in English connected speech. Even though the learners' L1 has a flap in its phonetic inventory, the learners are still confronted with difficulties in the production of the sound as shown in this study. Various factors could affect their less frequent production of a flap. Additional research with learners of different L1 backgrounds will contribute to an understanding of the nature of this phonological phenomenon.

NOTES

1. It should be noted that the word frequency listed in Table 6 is based on the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen (LOB) Corpus, which is a collection of present-day British English texts, not American English.

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USING QUALITATIVE METHODS IN NEEDS ANALYSIS STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

Using multiple sources and methods, a Needs Analysis was conducted for the listening section of an Integrated English program at a 4-year private university located in Tokyo, Japan. Questions were asked about six categories: learners' (a) target tasks, (b) problems, (c) preferences, (d) abilities, (e) attitudes, and (f) solutions. Responses came from three sources: 585 students, 15 teachers, and 2 program coordinators. The following methods were used: semi-structured interviews, open-ended and closed-response questionnaires, and observations.

While the use of quantitative methods was helpful, it was observed that qualitative methods were effective to understand participants' perceptions toward learners' needs in this study. While quantitative methods, such as closed-response questionnaires are common methods to use in needs analysis studies, it is also argued to be important to use qualitative methods such as interviews and open-ended questionnaires in these studies. With the assistance of the data obtained from the study, I discuss that any needs analysis study should include qualitative methods.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Needs analysis refers to "the activities involved in gathering information that will serve as the basis for developing a curriculum that will meet the learning needs of a particular group of students" (Brown, *Elements* 35). Usually, it involves examining both subjective and objective information through questionnaires, tests, interviews and observations. Brown states:

if analysts use various combinations of procedures, they will create a stronger overall information-gathering process. In other words, multiple sources of information should be used in a needs analysis - although the specific combination appropriate for a given situation must be decided on the site by the needs analysts themselves... (52)

It is argued that multiple methods and sources should be used in needs analysis studies (Brown, 1995; Long, 1999; West, 1994). In addition, Witkin and Altschuld states in a recent book on educational needs assessment as follows:

We do recommend that you use more than one data source or method... and that you balance quantitative methods with qualitative ones. Data from any single method (surveys, interviews, focus groups, or analysis of existing records) are generally insufficient to provide an adequate basis for understanding needs and making decisions on priorities (279).

Although several researchers argue that any needs analysis study should use multiple methods and sources as above, to the best of my knowledge few such studies have been published.

In this paper, I will present part of the data obtained from one of the few needs analysis studies using multiple methods and sources conducted at the Integrated English (IE) listening program at the department of English, Aoyama Gakuin University Tokyo, Japan. I will also discuss the importance of using multiple methods, especially qualitative methods—such as open-ended questionnaires and interviews—in needs analysis studies. Using real examples of needs analysis studies, I will argue the importance of using both qualitative and quantitative methods to analyze learners' needs closely.

2.0. THE STUDY

The department of English at Aoyama Gakuin University, located in Tokyo, Japan, established an intensive English program, called Integrated English (IE), in 1992 for its freshmen and sophomore students. Students in the program, divided into three levels based on their English proficiency, take IE core (180 min), IE

writing (90 min), and IE listening (90 min) courses weekly. English is used as the medium of instruction in the IE core course and students are expected to speak English at all times. In IE writing courses, students are taught paragraph and essay writing. In IE listening courses, students watch a variety of videos, usually either documentary films or excerpts from movies and TV dramas. In class, they are asked to complete work sheets that have listening comprehension questions. Japanese instructors teach all IE listening sections. Except for the classes that non-Japanese instructors teach, Japanese is usually the medium of instruction in IE listening classes. In evaluation reports done in May 1999, revision of the IE program, especially the listening section, was suggested. Based on this suggestion, this needs analysis study was conducted to gather information about the direction for the revision of the IE listening section.

2.1. Participants

Three sources responded: students, teachers, and program coordinators. In the IE listening program, there were 663 students enrolled in the spring semester of 2000 and 18 instructors, who all taught part-time except for one, who was a new full-time lecturer at the university. Among the 663 students, 585 (117 male and 468 female) students participated in this study and responded to either Questionnaire A (222 students) or B (370 students). Among the 18 students whom I attempted to interview, 15 students (three male and twelve female) actually took part in the interviews. Those students whom I interviewed were randomly chosen from the class lists and also responded to Questionnaire A or B. The instructors who taught IE listening were all native speakers of Japanese, except for one instructor, who was British. Two program coordinators, who were native speakers of English originally from Canada, also participated in the interviews.

2.2. Procedures

In this needs analysis, three methods were used: semi-structured interviews, open-ended and closed-response questionnaires (Questionnaire A and B), and observations.

2.2.1. Questionnaire A and Observations

Based on the intensive literature review about needs analysis, I devised seven question categories shown in Figure 1.

1. TARGET TASKS: What kinds of things would you like to do in the future using English?
2. PROBLEMS: What kinds of things would you have difficulty with in listening?
3. PRIORITIES: What kinds of things would you prefer to listen to in the IE listening class?
4. ABILITIES: What kinds of things can you do using English now?
5. ATTITUDES: What do you like about and do not like about your IE listening class?
6. PROBLEMS: Do you have any complaints of problems in the IE listening class?
7. SOLUTIONS: Do you feel that your IE listening class helps you to be a better listener? If not, Do you have any ideas about certain things that need to be changed in IE listening program?

Figure 1. Seven Categories of Questions Types for Needs Analysis

Appendix A includes an English translation of Questionnaire A, which was given to students and teachers, and Appendix B shows Questionnaire B, which was given only to students. The seven types of questions used in both Questionnaire A and B were carefully re-written for different participants and formats. Specifically, the teacher version of Questionnaire A, while using the same seven types of questions as the student version, included some wording changes to allow for teachers' perceptions of students in their classes. Questionnaire B was revised in order to make it generally closed-response.

At the beginning of this study, I observed nine sections of IE Listening and submitted Questionnaire A to the students in these classrooms. I observed each class with the permission of the instructors. I took field notes to record what was happening in the classrooms. Questionnaire A was administered either at the beginning or the end of each of six of the classes that I observed. When I administered Questionnaire A, I simply went

into six classrooms, explained the purpose of my research, and gave questionnaires to the students. In an attempt to avoid some questions being left unanswered, I read the questions aloud, clarified possible misunderstandings and went around the class to make sure the participants were filling in the form. Questionnaire A took students about 10 minutes to fill out. All 222 students who attended class on that day responded to Questionnaire A.

2.2.2. Interviews

Next, I conducted interviews with some of the participants. I planned to conduct semi-structured interviews with eighteen students, six teachers, and two program coordinators. A portable recorder was used to record the interviews. Six question types were designed to determine learners' needs in the following areas: (a) target tasks, (b) problems, (c) priorities, (d) abilities, (e) attitudes, and (f) solutions. I conducted the interviews for 10-15 minutes with (a) fifteen students, who were selected randomly from each class, (b) six IE listening teachers, and (c) two program coordinators. I was unable to conduct the interviews with three of the students because they did not attend our agreed upon meeting.

For those teachers who were unable to participate in the interviews due to their tight schedules, I asked them to fill out Questionnaire A. I put a questionnaire and return envelope in each of their mailboxes. They had two weeks to return the questionnaire. Nine out of twelve teachers returned the questionnaire.

2.2.3. Questionnaire B

All students who were not given Questionnaire A were given Questionnaire B at the beginning of July. After some revisions to the questionnaire format as suggested by one of the program coordinators and the chair of my thesis committee, I visited twelve classrooms and requested the teachers' cooperation. Although one teacher declined to administer the questionnaire in her class, eleven teachers agreed to administer it. In four of the classrooms, I went in personally and administered the questionnaires, while seven teachers distributed the questionnaires themselves. Among the 417 students who were enrolled in these twelve classes, 370 students answered the questionnaires (return rate = 89%). Three questionnaires were discarded because they were completely blank. I found some questionnaires in which some questions remained unanswered. Nevertheless, I used these questionnaires in the interest of collecting as much data as possible.

3.0. RESULTS ON LEARNERS' TARGET TASKS

Although the data obtained from quantitative methods (Questionnaire B) was informative, it was also important to see the data from interviews or open-response questions (Questionnaire A). In this section, I present both quantitative and qualitative data concerning *learner's target tasks* (category 1 of the questionnaires) obtained from students, teachers, and program co-coordinators.

3.1. Quantitative Analysis

Questionnaire B consisted of seven closed-response questions about (a) learners' target tasks, (b) problems, (c) priorities, (d) abilities, (e) attitudes, and (f) solutions. The following is the statistical analysis of the question, "What would you like to do in the future using English?" The results were obtained from 370 students in the program. In Table 1, the means and standard deviations (SD) of the students' answers are presented. A response that more students agreed to would have a higher mean, while a response that fewer students agreed to would have a lower mean. The SD, which shows the degree to which the responses are spread out around the mean, is a sort of average of the differences of each response from the mean. The percentages selected for each response (1, 2, 3, 4, 5) are also presented to give a more precise idea of how the responses were distributed. The table is organized in mean order, so the responses with the highest means can be seen at the top and those with the lowest means at the bottom.

In Table 1, nine choices are shown in mean order. Three choices have means higher than 4.00: traveling [mean=4.71, SD=0.69], watching movies for fun [mean=4.22, SD=1.06], and studying abroad [mean=4.12, SD=1.02] are strongly favored choices. More than 75 % of the students who responded to this question either agreed or strongly agreed with these three choices. On the other hand, becoming interpreters [mean=3.00, SD=1.30], and teaching in school [mean=2.47, SD=1.35] have means lower than 3.00. Except the

choice talking with friends casually [mean= 3.33, SD= 1.39], the choices regarding English at the workplace are less favored than the choices regarding English in personal settings.

Table 1. IE Learners' Target Tasks

1. What would you like to do in the future using English?			Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
(N=370)	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5
Travel	4.71	0.69	0.54%	1.63%	4.89%	12.23%	80.71%
Watch movies for fun	4.22	1.06	3.53%	3.80%	15.49%	21.20%	55.98%
Study abroad	4.12	1.02	2.18%	5.45%	17.44%	28.34%	46.59%
Live in foreign countries	3.90	1.17	4.36%	8.99%	20.71%	23.98%	41.96%
Work for foreign companies	3.77	1.14	4.10%	9.29%	26.50%	25.41%	34.70%
Use at work in Japanese companies	3.71	1.09	4.62%	8.42%	25.82%	33.70%	27.45%
Talk with friends casually	3.33	1.39	13.86%	16.85%	19.02%	23.10%	27.17%
Become interpreters/ translators	3.00	1.30	15.49%	20.65%	29.35%	17.39%	17.12%
Teach in schools	2.47	1.35	31.79%	25.00%	18.48%	13.59%	11.14%

3.2. Qualitative Analysis

When analyzing qualitative data, the use of matrixes is helpful (Brown, *Survey* 216). Matrixes are "arrays or tables, usually in two-dimensions, with one set of categories labeled across the top and another down the left-hand side and with data arranged or summarized in columns and rows that can help the researcher discern patterns in the data" (216). Based on Brown's suggestion, I made matrixes of the data obtained from each qualitative method used in this study. In Table 2, I present the part of the matrix I made for the question about learners' target tasks.

Table 2. IE Learners' Target Tasks Determined by each Qualitative Method.

Students' Interviews	Students' Questionnaires	Teachers' Interviews	Teachers' Questionnaires	Program Coordinators' Interviews	Classroom Observations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - use at work (broadcasting companies, travel agencies, hotels, airport) - translating - interpreting - as flight attendants - as secretaries - offering home stay - teaching Eng. - for travel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - use at work (broadcasting companies, travel agencies, hotels, airport) - translating - interpreting - as flight attendants - singing English songs - talking with people - reading novels in Eng. - for travel - watching movies - teaching English 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - use at work (hotels, airport) - translating - interpreting - as flight attendants - studying abroad - understanding lecture in Eng. - teaching Eng. - talking with foreigners in Japan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - use at work - interpreting - as flight attendants - using Internet - studying abroad - using computers - reading Eng. documents at work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - use at work - understanding lectures in Eng. 	<p><i>NOT OBSERVABLE IN CLASS</i></p>

As seen in Table 2, participants from each source shared similar points of view on learners' target tasks in the future. Among the three sources, students' responses to the question varied greatly, although they were all very eager to share their ideas about their 'dream job.' Some students mentioned during the interviews:

I want to work in mass media. Personally, I would like to travel the world. When I was in high school, we had one foreign student in my high school, but I couldn't converse with her in English at all. I felt

sorry for myself and for her as well. In the future, I'd like to host some foreign students, and invite them to my home when I get married. Anyway, I want to work in mass media. That's the main reason I'm studying English. (student/interview)

I want to work at hotels or at the airports. I just want to improve my English just to assist foreign guests there. (student/interview)

I haven't decided yet what exactly I want to do for work. But, I want to work for an American company (here in Japan), which is kind of a big dream. I imagine in those kinds of companies, we will have a lot of chances to communicate in English. So, what I really want to do is to become a secretary there. I've been thinking about this. Somehow, I hope I can use English working as a secretary. (student/interview)

These students shared great ambitions. Most of the students whom I interviewed eagerly shared the 'dream jobs' that they one day hoped to get. Although I did not include such choices in Questionnaire B, some students mentioned in their answers that they wanted to work in a hotel or at an airport. Becoming a flight attendant was a frequent choice expressed in both Questionnaire A and in interviews. I also found the words airport (five times), stewardess (nine times), and hotel (six times) in the responses to Question 1, "What would you like to do in the future using English?" of Questionnaire A. I also noticed that students wanted to use English for general conversational purposes. Seventeen students used the word communication, and 32 students used either the word conversation or talk when discussing this matter.

A wide range of answers to the question about learners' target tasks was found in Questionnaire A. Some students' responses were more practical or serious, whereas others seemed more like wishes. Illustrative answers from Questionnaire A were:

- Becoming a journalist who writes reports about real life in developing countries.
- Getting involved in volunteer works abroad.
- Using English when studying music production in the United States.
- Falling in love with somebody... living in a gorgeous house with a swimming pool.

In contrast to the students who shared merely their wants, two newer teachers who had graduated from this university's graduate program shared their views on students' future use of English. Because they knew people who had already graduated from the university within the past few years, their views are worth noting. During the interviews, they said:

To be frank with you, you don't use English unless you work in foreign companies or international divisions in Japanese companies. As long as you live in Japan, you don't use English at all in daily life. Friends of mine who graduated from the department of English tell me that they just forget English since they don't use it. That's a reality. I can't help it. That's how Japanese society is. (teacher/interview)

In my way of thinking, there is a gap between students' wishes and reality. Most of the students want to work for international divisions in American companies, and negotiate with foreigners. That's all that they can imagine. In my opinion, as long as they work for companies in Japan, it will not matter if they are good at English or not. A small number of people can use English as teachers. That's another possibility... there are a very small number of people who apply their English skills at work... So, the only chances they have to use English are if they become teachers or flight attendants. However, in my days, and these days as well, there are fewer and fewer chances to be flight attendants. You know, few people use English at work. To be honest, those students who finally get into level 3 now won't find it helpful at all in the company that needs English at work. I think that only returnees who have lived abroad for five or ten years are going to get the work that requires English. When I look around, I am the only one who uses English at work. (teacher/interview)

Another teacher felt that there is a gap between students' wishes and reality. This is because, although many students want to use English in their future careers, as long as they remain in Japan, there will be few

opportunities to use English on a daily basis. This teacher also said that only returnees who have lived abroad for five or ten years would have the opportunity to use English at their workplace everyday. This is the reality in Japan where, with the exception of infrequent communication with foreigners, conversational English outside of the classroom is rare.

However, in an interview with one program coordinator, she said, "But you never know what's going to happen in the future. Things may change. They may all of a sudden be in a position where they need English. So, just because you don't need it immediately doesn't mean you won't need it in the future." The possibility does exist that students will be using English in their futures.

In fact, although traveling, watching English movies, and studying abroad are not related to jobs, they are tasks that students may need preparation for in the future. As seen in Table 1, these three tasks are strongly supported choices in Questionnaire B. If the program deals with tasks that they will need when traveling, watching movies, and studying abroad, it is more likely to help motivate students. It is also important to design a program that addresses some common desires that students expressed throughout the needs analysis.

4.0. CONCLUSION

First of all, the use of three sources was effective in identifying learners' needs. Students, teachers, and program coordinators had different points of view regarding the way they looked at learners' target tasks, which involved what students need to do when using English in the future. While students were likely to share their wants or wishes, what they *want* to do using English, teachers and program coordinators realistically pointed out learners' necessities, what they *need* to do using English in the future. The data on learners' target tasks revealed certain differences in the perceptions of learners' needs. As Hutchison and Waters (56) points out, "it is quite possible that the learners' views will conflict with the perceptions of other interested parties: course designers, sponsors, and teachers." Using three sources in the study revealed this disparity very clearly.

Second, as I was conducting my study, I noticed that participants preferred certain methods over others for expressing their views on learners' needs. For example, questionnaires suited the teachers' busy schedules better than interviews. On the other hand, interviews were useful for getting participants to share their attitudes or feelings. Although the interviews provided valuable information, it was not easy to get participants to contribute a precious 15 minutes for this project. In addition, other participants felt uncomfortable expressing their opinions in interviews. While interviews were difficult to arrange, the questionnaires were easy to administer. In this study, it was most effective to use two type of questionnaires: open-ended (Questionnaire A) and closed-response (Questionnaire B). Contrary to my expectations of getting open-ended questionnaires returned with few questions answered, I found that many participants shared honest views in their own words, providing me with a rich source of data. I believe that the use of both qualitative and quantitative data helped me and other interested parties to more clearly understand what the learners need. Using only one source and one method would simply not have been sufficient.

Finally, both as a researcher and a teacher, it was a very valuable experience to conduct the needs analysis using different methods and sources. I especially felt that many participants shared their insightful comments in the interviews. Using a closed-response questionnaire that I could analyze numerically allowed me to present the data clearly and efficiently. Using qualitative methods such as interviews and open-ended questionnaires provided me the honest opinions and feelings of the participants that may not have been easy to discern in the numerical analysis.

NOTES

This paper is a revised version of Kikuchi, K. (2001). Analysis of Listening Needs for EFL Learners in A Japanese College. Unpublished master's thesis. Honolulu, HI. U.S.A.: University of Hawai'i at Manoa. Honolulu, U.S.A. Materials used in this paper can be found in Kikuchi (2001).

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APPENDIX A**Questionnaire A for students (English translation)**

Name _____ Age _____ Sex _____ Level of IE _____

Please answer seven questions below. Feel free to write your opinions about IE listening program. This result will be used to improve the program. Your participation will be appreciated.

1. What kinds of things would you like to do in the future using English?
 2. What kinds of things would you have difficulty with when you are listening to English?
 3. What kinds of things would you prefer to listen to in English?
 4. What kinds of things can you do using English?
 5. What do you like about and don't like about your IE listening class?
 6. Do you have any complaints or problems in your IE listening class?
 7. Do you feel that your IE listening class helps you to be a better listener?
- If not, do you have any ideas about certain things that need to be changed in IE listening program?

Questionnaire A for teachers (English translation)

After fill in this form, please give it to me when you see me, or put into the envelope on the top of the mailbox by 2nd, June, Fri.

Please answer seven questions below. This document will be processed confidentially. The result of the research is going to be used to improve I.E. program. Your cooperation will be appreciated. Thank you for taking your precious time to fill in this form. If you have any questions about this, please refer to me directly.

Keita Kikuchi

Your name: _____ How long have you been teaching I.E. Listening? _____ year (s)

1. What kinds of things would your students like to do in the future using English?
Please be specific.
2. What kinds of things would your students have difficulty with in listening?
3. What kinds of things would students prefer to listen to in the IE listening class?

4. What can your students do using English now?
5. What do you like and don't like about the IE listening section?
6. What kinds of complaints or problems do your students seem to have in your IE listening class?
Can you describe them below?
7. Do you feel that your IE listening class helps students to be better listeners?
If not, do you have any ideas about certain things that need to be changed in IE listening program?

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire B for students (English translation)

Please answer the questions below. This document will be processed confidentially. The result of the research is going to be used to improve I.E. program. Your cooperation will be appreciated.

University of Hawai'i at Manoa
Department of Second Language Studies
Keita Kikuchi keita@hawaii.edu

Name _____ Age _____ Gender _____ Instructor _____

Have you gone abroad? Yes <If yes ____year(s) The name of the country you lived in _____ >
(Circle either Yes or No) No

1. What would you like to do in the future using English? Please circle either (5=strongly agree, 4=agree, 3=neutral, 2=disagree, or 1=strongly disagree) for each choice.

- (5 4 3 2 1) Travel
- (5 4 3 2 1) Study abroad
- (5 4 3 2 1) Work in the foreign countries
- (5 4 3 2 1) Live in the foreign countries
- (5 4 3 2 1) Teach at school
- (5 4 3 2 1) Watch movies for fun
- (5 4 3 2 1) Use at work in Japanese companies
- (5 4 3 2 1) Interpretation / Translation
- (5 4 3 2 1) Talk with friends casually

2. What kind of things do you have a hard time with when you listen to English in classroom? Please circle either (5=strongly agree, 4=agree, 3=neutral, 2=disagree, or 1=strongly disagree) for each choice.

- (5 4 3 2 1) Unknown vocabulary
- (5 4 3 2 1) Fast speed
- (5 4 3 2 1) Colloquial phrases, jokes.
- (5 4 3 2 1) The segment of the film is too long; hard to concentrate.
- (5 4 3 2 1) Task sheets is monotonous
- (5 4 3 2 1) Different accents of the speakers

3. What kinds of things would you prefer to listen to in your IE listening class? Please circle either (5=strongly agree, 4=agree, 3=neutral, 2=disagree, or 1=strongly disagree) for each choice.

- (5 4 3 2 1) Movies
- (5 4 3 2 1) TV drama
- (5 4 3 2 1) Documentaries

- (5 4 3 2 1) Current news such as CNN, ABC news
 (5 4 3 2 1) Pop songs

4. What can you do using English now? Please mark all that apply to you.

- ☐ Very little
☐ Give directions on the street to foreigners
☐ Talk with the teacher in classes
☐ Hold a conversation with a foreigner
☐ Understand an English movie without subtitles
☐ Understand news shows such as CNN or ABC
☐ Communicate in English while traveling

5. What kinds of complaints, problems do you have about your IE listening class?
 Please mark all that apply to you.

- ☐ None
☐ Too little amount of class time (90 minutes a week) to listen to English
☐ Too many students in the class
☐ Small variety in the video materials
☐ Too much focus on difficult vocabulary
☐ Less focus on daily conversation skills
☐ Other (Specify _____)

6. How do you like your IE listening class? Please circle either 4, 3, 2, or 1 to indicate which applies to you best.

I like it very much. ← 4 3 2 1 → Dislike it.

Why? (Specify _____)

7. To what extent do you feel that IE listening class helps you to be a better learner?
 Please make a circle on either 4, 3, 2, or 1 to indicate which applies to you best.

I think so. ← 4 3 2 1 → I don't think so.

Which ideas do you agree with on improving IE listening class? Please mark either (5=strongly agree, 4=agree, 3=neutral, 2=disagree, or 1=strongly disagree) for each choice.

- (5 4 3 2 1) To give students a tape from the class to listen and review the class.
 (5 4 3 2 1) To show the scripts after watching the video in class
 (5 4 3 2 1) To use popular songs in class
 (5 4 3 2 1) To focus more on daily conversational skills
 (5 4 3 2 1) To give some listening homework assignments
 (5 4 3 2 1) To use more varieties of videos
 (5 4 3 2 1) To use English for all the instruction

If you have any opinion about IE listening session, please write them down below.

A MINIMALIST ACCOUNT OF PARTIAL *WH*-MOVEMENT

Barbara Schulz, Department of Second Language Studies

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In order to form complex questions in which a targeted argument is located in an embedded clause, English requires full movement of the *wh*-phrase from the embedded clause to the Spec of the $C_{[+wh]}$ head. This can be seen in (1):

- (1) **Who_i** does Tina think the democrats will nominate **t_i**?

Partial movement of the *wh*-phrase to the initial position of the embedded clause is ungrammatical, even if a question marker is inserted in sentence-initial position. This is illustrated in (2)–(4):

- (2) *Tina thinks **who_i** the democrats will nominate **t_i**?
(3) *What does Tina think **who_i** the democrats will nominate **t_i**?
(4) *Who does Tina think **who_i** the democrats will nominate **t_i**?

However, not all languages are restricted in this way. Partial *wh*-movement as illustrated in (3) and (4) can be found in a number of languages, such as German, Frisian, Afrikaans, and Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian, Romani, among others. This is shown for German in (3') and (4'):

- (3') Was denkt Tina wen die Demokraten nominieren werden?
what thinks Tina who the democrats nominate will
(4') Wen denkt Tina wen die Demokraten nominieren werden?
who thinks Tina who the democrats nominate will

'Who does Tina think the democrats will nominate?'

In addition to this, German also has long-distance movement as illustrated in (5) and (6), where (5) is grammatical for all German dialects but (6) only in some (Lutz, Müller & von Stechow 2000):

- (5) Wen denkt Tina werdendie Demokraten nominieren?
who thinks Tina will the democrats nominate
(6) Wen denkt Tina dass die Demokraten nominieren werden?
who thinks Tina that the democrats nominate will

'Who does Tina think the democrats will nominate?'

Thus, the question arises as to what property of the grammar is responsible for such cross-linguistic variation. In other words, what exactly is it that allows for partial *wh*-movement in some languages but rules it out in others.

There has been a substantive amount of research on the analysis of partial *wh*-movement (see Lutz, Müller & von Stechow 2000, for example). However, none of these analyses have been articulated within Chomsky's (2000) *phase-model*, and this is what the present paper will attempt to do.

This paper is structured as follows. In section 2, I will provide the necessary background on the analysis of *wh*-movement in German and English. Next, I will summarize the properties of German partial *wh*-movement in section 3. In section 4, I will spell out my proposal, framing the analysis within the *phase-model*. The proposed analysis will then be tested against the properties associated with the partial *wh*-movement construction. However, not all problems have been solved, and shortcomings of the proposed analysis will be addressed in section 5. Finally, I will finish by summarizing the main observations and conclusions in section 6.

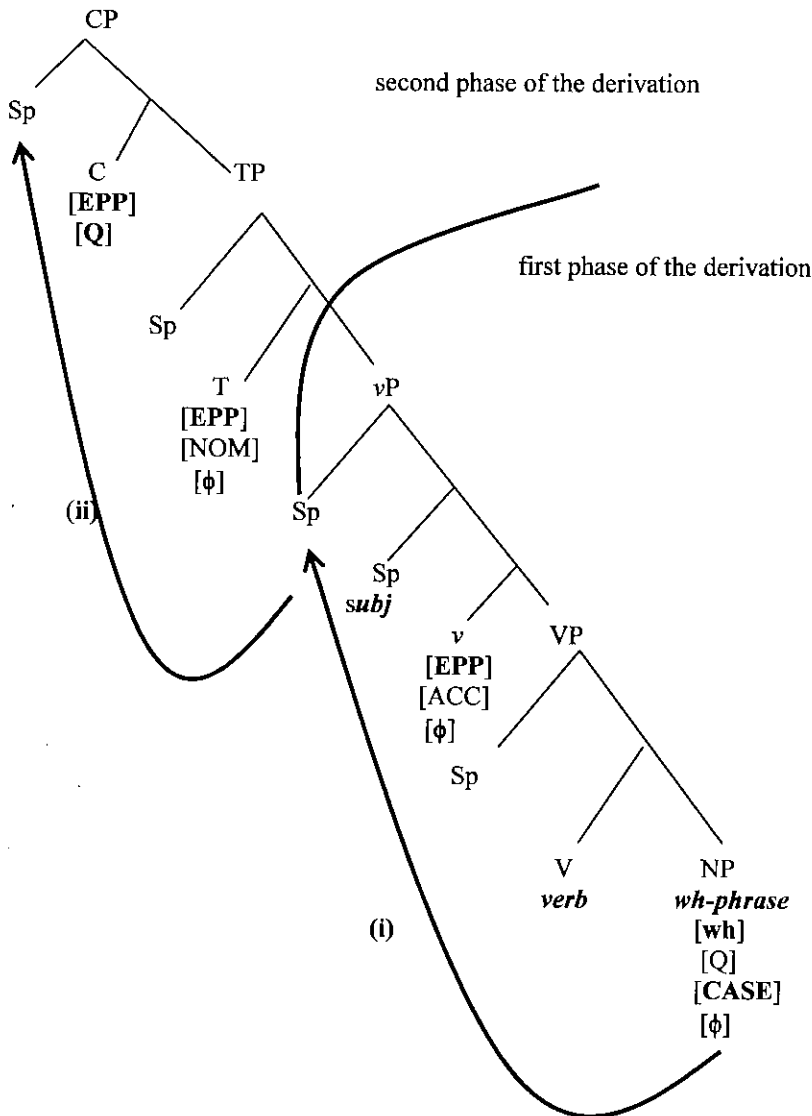
2.0. BACKGROUND

The major assumption advanced in Chomsky's newest minimalist approach is that a derivation proceeds phase by phase. A phase is a syntactic object that corresponds to a complete proposition, i.e., it is either the verb phrase with all of its θ -roles assigned (= vP) or a full clause including tense and force (= CP) (Chomsky 2000, p. 106). *The Phase-Impenetrability Condition* then states that syntactic operations within a given phase can only look into the preceding phase up to that phase's head (p. 108). In other words: only the specifier and the head positions of the highest completed phase are accessible to the next phase.

The computational system makes use of three basic operations: *Merge*, *Agree*, and *Move* (p. 101). *Merge* joins together two syntactic objects. *Agree* establishes a relation between two elements, a probe, which is a lexical item bearing some feature F, and a goal which carries a corresponding feature (e.g., the probe has uninterpretable and the goal interpretable ϕ -features). This relation can only be established if the goal is 'active' which means that it must bear an undeleted, uninterpretable feature that makes it accessible for the computational system (p. 123). Uninterpretable features are "undifferentiated" in that they are of a specific type, such as being a case-feature, but originally do not have a particular value, such as 'accusative' (p. 124). This value is determined through the *Agree* operation, which matches the unspecified, uninterpretable feature-value with a specified interpretable one. In a way, grammatical properties such as number, person, gender, and case are thus assigned to whatever element is carrying the uninterpretable feature. By means of this 'matching' process contained in the *Agree* operation, the uninterpretable feature is erased.

The third basic operation is *Move*, which is a combination of *Agree* and *Merge* (p. 101). *Move* is always driven by uninterpretable features on the probe, which must be deleted for legibility reasons (p. 127). In order for *Move* to apply to some phrase, however, first an agreement relation has to be established between the probe and some feature contained in the moved phrase. The phrase is then moved and merged in the specifier position of the probe. The uninterpretable features on a probe that can motivate movement are ϕ -features, P-features, such as topic- or focus- features, and QU-features (i.e., quantifier features, p. 109). However, these features can be satisfied without movement and can be deleted long-distance, resulting, for example, in dislocation structures (p. 122). The feature that actually induces movement is the EPP feature, which requires a phrase to merge with the category that the EPP feature is associated with (p. 122). All core functional categories (i.e., C, v, and T) may have an EPP feature (p. 102). But whereas T seems to have an EPP feature universally, languages may differ in whether or not C or v has one also. And if they do, then it is optional and may be assigned to C/v once a phase is completed. (p. 109).

How, then, can we account for *wh*-movement? According to Chomsky (2000, p. 128), the *wh*-phrase, which is the goal of *wh*-movement, has an uninterpretable [wh]-feature and an interpretable Q-feature. It remains active until the [wh]-feature is deleted. C, the probe, on the other hand, has an uninterpretable Q-feature. The Q-feature is then the one that establishes the *Agree*-relation between C and the *wh*-phrase, and the EPP feature on C induces movement of the *wh*-phrase to SpecCP. The exact movement is illustrated below (bold-face indicating that a feature is uninterpretable):



In the first step of this movement process, the *wh*-phrase is active due to its undeleted, uninterpretable Case-feature, and the *Agree* relationship holds between the ϕ -features on the *wh*-phrase and the one on *v*. Movement of the *wh*-phrase is triggered by the EPP-feature on *v*. The *wh*-phrase is now in the highest specifier position of the first phase of the derivation, and as such, accessible for computations in the second phase. The *wh*-phrase is also still active since its uninterpretable [wh]-feature has not been deleted yet. It now enters into an *Agree*-relation with the Q-feature on C, and the EPP-feature on C forces movement of the *wh*-phrase to its Spec position. Since we are only concerned with *wh*-movement here, I will leave aside all other movement, such as the movement of the verb or the subject. The one question that remains to be answered, however, is why it is not possible to insert an expletive here. This would be less costly, since *Move*, being a composite operation, is more complex than the simple operation *Merge*. It is not enough to simply say that English does not have a *wh*-expletive that would be compatible with an interrogative C, since German, as we will see, does have such an expletive but still may not insert it in mono-clausal *wh*-questions, as illustrated in (7):

- (7) *Was liebt Frank wen?
 what loves Fran who
 'Who does Frank love?'

For the time being I will adopt the idea that the insertion of expletives is a last-resort mechanism, only possible if the derivation would crash otherwise, even though this last-resort strategy should eventually be made to

follow from other principles instead of being stipulated. Since all the uninterpretable features can be deleted without inserting an expletive, this last-resort mechanism will rule out the use of an expletive.

3.0. PARTIAL *WH*-MOVEMENT AND ITS PROPERTIES

As was pointed out in the introduction, both English and German exhibit long-distance *wh*-dependencies in which a *wh*-element is extracted from an embedded clause and moved all the way up into the SpecC_[+wh] position. But whereas full movement is the only way of forming such questions in English, German also allows an alternative construction, which I will refer to as ‘partial *wh*-movement’, but which has also been called *wh*-scope marking (see Lutz, Müller & von Stechow, 2000). This construction is illustrated in (8):

- (8) [CP₁ **Was** denkt Mark [CP₂ **wen**₁ wir t₁ einladen sollen]]?
 what thinks Mark who we invite should
 ‘Who does Mark think we should invite?’

In this construction, the *wh*-phrase is not moved all the way into the domain of the C_[+wh] head but only to the intermediate SpecC position of the embedded clause. The SpecC_[+wh] position is filled by the *wh*-word *was* ‘what’. Since questions like (15) are only asking for one piece of information despite having two *wh*-words, the *was* in the SpecC_[+wh] position is often analysed as a *wh*-expletive (Felser, 2001).

Partial *wh*-movement exhibits a number of interesting properties (Beck & Berman, 2000).

3.1.0. Restriction On Matrix Verb Selection

3.1.1. Non-Interrogative Complements

Partial *wh*-movement is only possible if the matrix verb subcategorizes for a non-interrogative complement. Thus, partial movement is possible for a verb like *denken* ‘to think’ as in (15), which can take a non-interrogative complement as shown in (9), but it is impossible for a verb like *fragen* ‘to ask’, which necessarily takes an interrogative complement, as is illustrated in (10) through (12):

- (9) [CP₁ Mark denkt [CP₂ dass wir seine Eltern einladen sollen]]
 Mark thinks that we his parents invite should
 ‘Mark thinks that we should invite his parents.’
- (10) *[CP₁ Mark fragt [CP₂ dass wir seine Eltern einladen sollen]]
 Mark asks that we his parents invite should
 ‘Mark asks that we should invite his parents.’
- (11) [CP₁ Mark fragt [CP₂ wen₁ wir t₁ einladen sollen]]
 Mark asks who we invite should
 ‘Mark asks who we should invite.’
- (12) *[CP₁ Was fragt Mark [CP₂ wen₁ wir t₁ einladen sollen]]?
 what asks Mark who we invite should
 ‘Who does Mark ask we should invite?’

3.1.2. Limitation to Semantically Bleached Matrix Verbs

The verbs that can function as matrix verbs in the partial *wh*-movement construction seem to be a subset of the ‘bridge’ predicates, i.e., those verbs that allow long *wh*-extraction (D’Avis, 2000, p. 153). Thus, factive verbs cannot serve as a matrix verb here (Beck & Berman, 2000, p. 21), as is illustrated in (13):

- (13) *[CP₁ Was erinnert sich Mark [CP₂ wen₁ wir t₁ eingeladen haben]]?
 what remembers Mark who we invited have
 ‘Who does Mark remember that we invited?’

The same is also true for manner for speaking verbs, as illustrated in (14):

- (14) *_{[CP1 Was flüstert Mark [CP2 wen₁ wir t₁ eingeladen haben]]?}
 what whispers Mark who we invited have
 'Who does Mark whisper that we invited?'

It seems that those verbs that can occur as matrix verbs in the partial *wh*-movement construction are semantically less specific, i.e., they are bleached to some extent.

3.2.0. Negation Asymmetry

Partial *wh*-movement is ungrammatical if the matrix clause contains negation:

- (15) *_{[CP1 Was glaubt Mark nicht [CP2 wen₁ wir t₁ eingeladen haben]]?}
 what believes Mark not who we invited have
 'Who doesn't Mark believe that we invited?'

Long-distance *wh*-movement, on the other hand, is grammatical across such negation:

- (16) _{[CP1 Wen₁ glaubt Mark nicht [CP2 dass wir t₁ eingeladen haben]]?}
 who believes Mark not that we invited have
 'Who doesn't Mark believe that we invited?'

3.3.0. Co-Occurrence of Partial *wh*-Movement With the *wh*-Expletive

Partial *wh*-movement and insertion of the *wh*-expletive go hand in hand. It is not possible to have one without the other. Thus, sentences with partial movement but no *was* in SpecC_[+wh] are ungrammatical, as in (17), as is insertion of a *wh*-expletive without partial movement (18) or with long-distance movement as in (19):

- (17) *_{[CP1 Mark denkt [CP2 wen₁ wir t₁ einladen sollen]]?}
 Mark thinks who we invite should
 'Who does Mark think we should invite?'
- (18) *_{[CP1 Was denkt Mark [CP2 wir wen einladen sollen]]?}
 What thinks Mark we who invite should
 'Who does Mark think we should invite?'
- (19) *_{[CP1 Was wen₁ denkt Mark [CP2 t₁ wir t₁ einladen sollen]]?}
 What who thinks Mark we invite should
 'Who does Mark think we should invite?'

3.4.0. Compatibility With Embedded Multiple *wh*-Questions

The embedded clause in a partial *wh*-movement construction can contain several *wh*-phrases. One of these will be moved to the embedded SpecC position whereas all others remain in-situ. This is illustrated in (20):

- (20) _{[CP1 Was glaubst du [CP2 wann Hans an welcher Uni studiert hat]]?}
 what believe you when Hans at what university studied has
 'When do you believe Hans studied at which university?'
 (example taken from Beck & Berman, 2000)

3.5.0. Iteration of the *wh*-Expletive

Partial *wh*-movement can occur in a multiple embedding construction, as long as every higher clause contains an appropriate verb and a *wh*-expletive. This can be seen in (21):

- (21) [Was glaubst du [was Mark denkt [wen wir einladen sollen]]]?
 what believe you what Mark thinks who we invite should
'Who do you think Mark believes that we should invite?'

3.6.0. Restriction of Partial *wh*-Movement to the Lowest Clause

In a multiple embedding construction, the *wh*-phrase must be structurally lower than any of the *wh*-expletives. This can be seen from the contrast between (21) and (22):

- (22) *[Was glaubst du [wen Mark denkt [was wir einladen sollen]]]?
 what believe you who Mark thinks what we invite should
'Who do you think Mark believes that we should invite?'

3.7.0. No LF Isomorphism Between Long-Distance and Partial *wh*-Movement

As is pointed out by Felser (2001), partial *wh*-movement is scope-wise not exactly equivalent to long-distance movement. Thus, long-distance movement as in (23) allows for two interpretations whereas only one of these interpretations is available in the case of partial *wh*-movement as in (24):

- (23) [Wo glaubt jeder_i [dass sie_i gerne leben würde]]?
 where believes everyone that she readily live would
'Where does everyone think that she would like to live?'
 (Example taken from Felser, 2001, p. 13)

Here, two answers would be appropriate, one with a pair-list reading ($\forall > \exists$: there are several people and for each of them there is a different favorite location where they would like to live) and one with a single-pair reading ($\exists > \forall$: there is one location where everybody wants to live).

- (24) [Was glaubt jeder [wo sie_i gerne leben würde]]?
 what believes everyone where she readily live would
'Where does everyone think that she would like to live?'
 (Example taken from Felser, 2001, p. 13)

In the partial *wh*-movement construction in (24), only the single-pair reading is possible ($\exists > \forall$: there is one location where everybody wants to live). Thus it seems that, in the case of partial *wh*-movement, the *wh*-phrase cannot take wide scope over the whole utterance.

This concludes the summary of the properties of partial *wh*-movement, and we will now turn our attention to the question of how this construction should best be analyzed using Chomsky's (2000) phase model.

4.0. SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF PARTIAL *WH*-MOVEMENT

The present analysis of partial *wh*-movement draws on Bošković's (1999) distinction that languages may differ with respect to what particular feature is responsible for *wh*-fronting. According to Bošković, it may either be a [wh]-feature or a focus-feature (p. 162). Languages with focus-driven *wh*-fronting exhibit three other properties: they allow a single-pair as well as a pair-list answer to a multiple, mono-clausal *wh*-question; they show evidence of a special position for contrastively focused phrases; and they do not exhibit a Superiority effect. I will begin my analysis by demonstrating that, according to these criteria, German *wh*-fronting is focus-movement.

Starting with the interpretation of multiple mono-clausal *wh*-questions, we can see that German clearly allows for both a single-pair and a pair-list interpretation. The question in (25) can felicitously be answered with a single-pair answer such as (26a), which contains two new pieces of information.

- (25) Wer hat was gekauft?
 Who has what bought
'Who bought what?'

- (26a) Mark hat ein Aloha-Shirt gekauft.
 Mark has an aloha shirt bought
'Mark bought an aloha shirt.'

A pair-list answer is also acceptable given an appropriate context. If we assume that prior to this question the conversation evolved around the fact that a few friends had done their Christmas shopping the day before, the question in (25) can then be answered with (26b):

- (26b) Mark hat ein Buch gekauft, Andreas eine CD und Martina einen Ring.
 Mark has a book bought, Andreas a CD and Martina a ring
'Mark bought a book, Andreas a CD and Martina a ring.'

German also shows evidence of a special position for focused elements. Contrastive focus can easily be achieved by fronting any kind of constituent to sentence-initial position. Such fronting often has the effect of topicalization. However, if the fronted element is not already given, it receives a contrastive reading. This is illustrated in (27) where bold-face indicates contrastive stress:

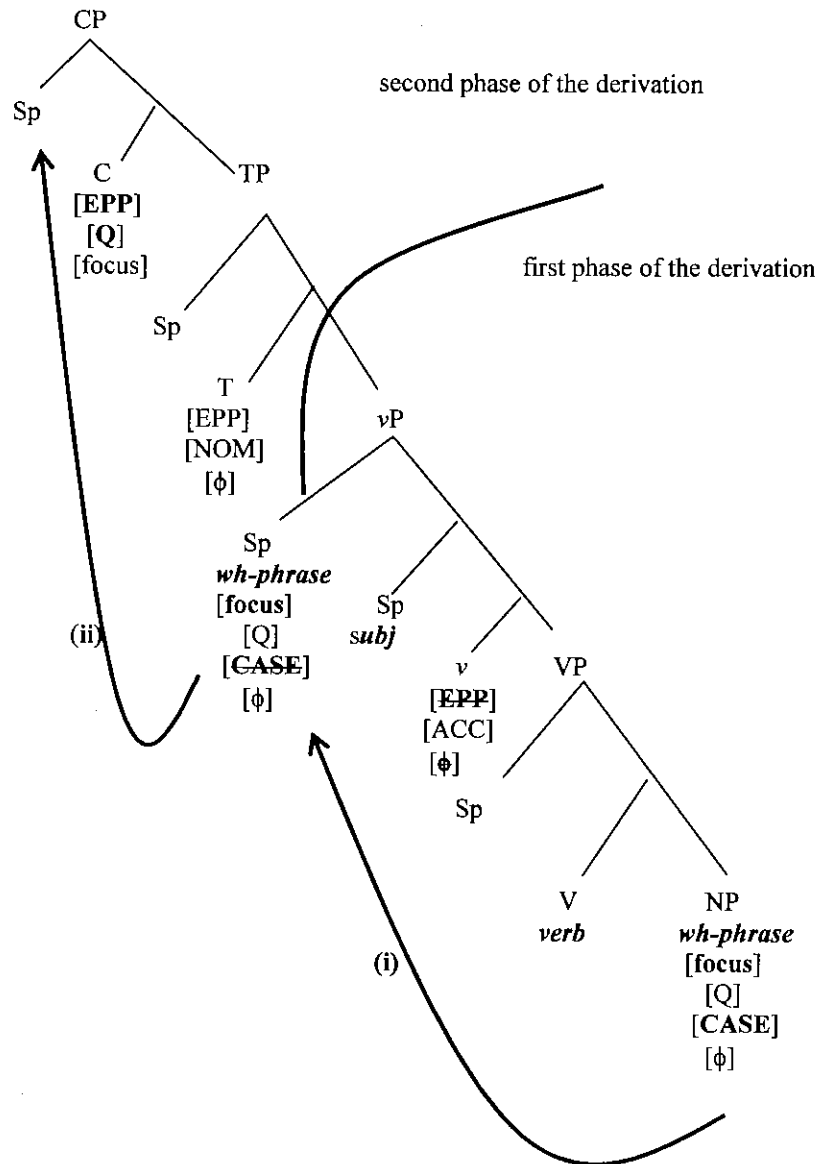
- (27) Ich treffe mich mit all meinen Freunden mindestens einmal im Monat.
 I meet myself with all my friends at least once in a month
'I meet all of my friends at least once a month.'

Frank hab' ich aber schon seit einem Jahr nicht gesehen.
 Frank have I though already since a year not seen
*'I haven't seen **Frank** for a whole year, though.'*

Finally, *wh*-fronting in German also does not exhibit Superiority effects. Thus, in a multiple monoclausal *wh*-question, any of the *wh*-phrases can be fronted:

- (28) Wer hat wann wen gesehen?
 (29) Wann hat wer wen gesehen?
 (30) Wen hat wann wer gesehen?
'Who did when see who(m)?'

I therefore conclude that German is one of those languages in which a focus-feature is essentially involved in *wh*-fronting. Thus, instead of carrying an interpretable Q-feature and an uninterpretable [wh]-feature, as proposed for English in Chomsky (2000, p. 128), German *wh*-phrases bear an uninterpretable focus-feature in addition to the interpretable Q-feature. The same reasoning applies to C. The interpretable [wh]-feature on C is replaced by an interpretable focus-feature resulting in the feature composition of an uninterpretable Q-feature and an interpretable focus-feature. Thus, regular *wh*-movement proceeds in the following way (the uninterpretable features that require deletion are marked in bold-face):



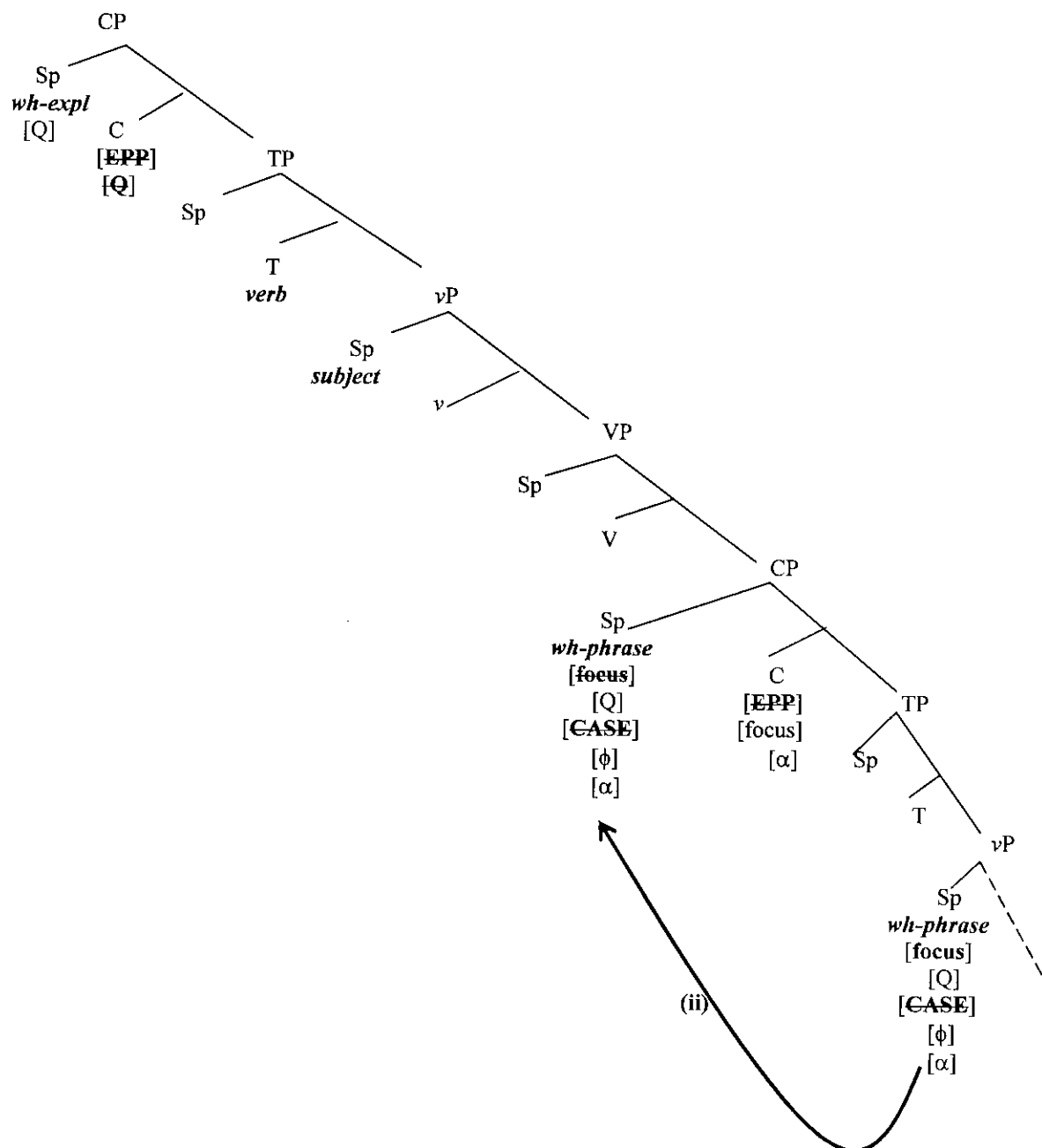
In step (i) of this derivation, the uninterpretable Case-feature on the *wh*-phrase renders it active. Thus its ϕ -features can enter into an *Agree* relation with the ϕ -features on the probe (*v*), and as a result *Move* can take place in order to satisfy the EPP-feature on *v*. The uninterpretable Case- and the ϕ -features on the probe and the goal are deleted, as is the EPP-feature on *v*. However, the *wh*-phrase still bears the uninterpretable focus-feature, and is consequently still active. Thus, in step (ii) its Q-feature can enter into an *Agree* relation with the Q-feature on C, and *Move* can take place to satisfy the EPP feature on C, deleting the uninterpretable EPP- and Q-feature on C as well as the uninterpretable focus-feature on the *wh*-phrase.

How does this explain partial *wh*-movement, though? I propose that the partial *wh*-movement construction is one that assigns focus to the embedded clause. This analysis is supported by the fact that this construction can be used solely for focusing purposes, losing its interrogative character. Thus, one can use the partial *wh*-movement construction, as in (32), to pragmatically convey what in English would have to be expressed by (31):

- (31) You won't believe who I saw yesterday!

- (32) Was glaubst du wen ich gestern gesehen habe!
 what believe you who I yesterday seen have
 'You won't believe who I saw yesterday!'

(32) is at most a rhetorical question and does not require an answer. The matrix clause clearly serves the purpose of focusing the embedded clause. Formally, this can be expressed by claiming that the embedded clause, but not the matrix clause, bears a focus feature. The derivation for a partial *wh*-movement question then looks as follows:



Step (i) and (ii) are exactly the same as in the above derivation, the only difference being that the intermediate C-head does not bear a Q-feature. The Q-feature, however, served to establish the *Agree* relation between C and the *wh*-phrase in the above case. In order to still establish the necessary *Agree*-relation between the probe (C)

and the goal (the *wh*-phrase) in step (ii) some feature α is needed. This feature will independently be needed to account for any kind of fronting in German, but at this stage I have no idea what precisely this feature could be. The Q-feature on the *wh*-phrase does not need to be deleted as it is interpretable. Thus, at the end of step (ii) the *wh*-phrase has become inactive as all its uninterpretable features are deleted. It cannot possibly move any further. All uninterpretable features on the intermediate C head are also deleted, so no problem arises here. Matrix C, on the other hand, still bears an uninterpretable EPP- and an uninterpretable Q-feature. As a last resort to rescue the derivation from crashing, an expletive has to be inserted in the matrix SpecC position, or else the EPP-feature on C could not be deleted. This expletive has to be a *wh*-expletive since it needs to bear a Q-feature in order to delete C's Q-feature, the second remaining uninterpretable feature on C. Only then can the derivation converge.

The next question to answer is how this account explains long-distance extraction. According to the proposed analysis, the only difference between partial and long-distance *wh*-movement is the location of the interpretable focus feature. As a default, this feature comes with the $C_{[+Q]}$ head.

Thus, the only difference is that, in step (ii), the intermediate C-head does not bear a focus-feature. The *wh*-phrase is active due to the undeleted uninterpretable focus-feature, *Agree* is established via $[\alpha]$ and *Move* is triggered by the EPP feature on C. At the end of step (ii), the *wh*-phrase is still active, in contrast to the partial movement case, since its uninterpretable focus-feature still has not been deleted. Thus it is available for further movement, and it will do so via the Spec of matrix vP^1 up until the matrix SpecC position, where it can finally delete its focus feature. At the same time it will satisfy C's EPP- and Q-feature, and the derivation converges.

The question that now needs to be addressed is whether or not this analysis can account for all of the properties associated with partial *wh*-movement. We will address each in the order as they were given in the previous section.

4.1.0. Non-Interrogative Complements

The fact that partial *wh*-movement is possible with matrix verbs that do not require an interrogative complement follows directly from the fact that the embedded C-head does not need to bear a Q-feature. Those verbs, on the other hand, that select interrogative complements only, will have no Q-feature in the matrix C-position and therefore a *wh*-expletive cannot be merged in matrix SpecCP.

4.1.1. Limitation to Semantically Bleached Verbs

The incompatibility of the partial *wh*-movement construction with semantically heavy matrix verbs is accounted for by the fact that this construction shifts the complete focus of the utterance to the embedded clause. Thus, no new information may be contained in the matrix clause, and semantically bleached verbs are the only ones that can be used here.

4.2.0. Negation Asymmetry

The same reasoning applied to 4.1.1 also holds for the case in which the matrix clause is negated. This necessarily constitutes new information and is therefore incompatible with an exclusive focus on the embedded clause.

4.3.0. Co-Occurrence of Partial *wh*-Movement With the *wh*-Expletive

As was already pointed out, insertion of the *wh*-expletive is a last resort strategy to rescue the derivation from crashing in the case where the *wh*-phrase becomes inactive at the intermediate SpecC position rendering it unavailable for any further movement. Thus, partial *wh*-movement always requires a *wh*-expletive in matrix SpecCP in order to check the EPP- and the Q-feature on matrix C. On the other hand, no expletive can be inserted in the case of long-distance movement since by the time the *wh*-phrase has been moved to the matrix SpecC position, all uninterpretable features are deleted, and there is no need to insert an expletive.

4.4.0. Compatibility With Embedded Multiple *wh*-Questions

How can we explain that partial *wh*-movement can also occur when the embedded clause contains several *wh*-phrases? In multiple *wh*-questions, it is only one *wh*-phrase that is assigned a focus-feature. This *wh*-phrase is the one that will move to the intermediate SpecC position where it freezes since all of its uninterpretable features are deleted. The second *wh*-phrase might undergo movement to a case position but will

remain there as it does not have any uninterpretable features once the Case-feature is deleted. Thus, a *wh*-expletive is again needed to satisfy the EPP- and the Q-feature on matrix C.

4.5.0. Iteration of the *wh*-Expletive

Partial *wh*-movement can occur, even when the clause is deeply embedded. This was illustrated in (21), repeated here as (33) for convenience.

- (33) [Was glaubst du [was Mark denkt [wen wir einladen sollen]]]?
 what believe you what Mark thinks who we invite should
'Who do you think Mark believes that we should invite?'

As far as the most deeply embedded clause is concerned nothing is surprising. It is the lowest C head that carries the focus feature, the *wh*-phrase is moved here and freezes. The insertion of the *wh*-expletive in matrix SpecCP is also analogous to all prior cases. What, however, triggers insertion of a *wh*-expletive in all intermediate clauses, since these do not bear a Q-feature? Clearly, there is the EPP feature on the C head that needs to be satisfied, but one would expect a declarative expletive like *es* 'it', as there is no interrogative marking requiring a *wh*-expletive. I would like to argue that the intermediate *was* in these cases is not a *wh*-expletive but a free relative pronoun as in (34):

- (34) [Ich kann erraten [was Mark denkt.]]
 I can guess what Mark thinks
'I can guess what Mark is thinking.'

This analysis is supported by the fact that a number of (though not all) dialects of German allow such intermediate *was* to be replaced by the declarative complementizer *dass* 'that' (Lutz, Müller & von Stechow, 2000), as illustrated in (35) below, grouping *was* together with complementizers rather than *wh*-words in this case.

- (35) [Was glaubst du [dass Mark denkt [wen wir einladen sollen]]]?
 what believe you that Mark thinks who we invite should
'Who do you think Mark believes that we should invite?'

4.6.0. Restriction of Partial *wh*-Movement to the Lowest Clause

The next property that we need to explain is why partial *wh*-movement can only occur within the lowest clause and it is impossible to find a *wh*-expletive in a structurally lower position than the *wh*-phrase. This was shown in (22), repeated here as (36):

- (36) *[Was glaubst du [wen Mark denkt [was wir einladen sollen]]]?
 what believe you who Mark thinks what we invite should
'Who do you think Mark believes that we should invite?'

The exact question is what prevents the intermediate C head to bear the focus-feature so that the *wh*-phrase is attracted there? Let us assume that the intermediate C-head does, in fact, bear the focus feature. The *wh*-phrase would then move to the lowest SpecC position first and the EPP- and α -feature would be deleted. It would then move to the intermediate SpecC position since its undeleted focus-feature still renders it active, and it satisfies that C's focus- and EPP- (and possibly also its α -) feature. So far, all is well, and with the insertion of a *wh*-expletive in matrix CP all uninterpretable features can be deleted, producing the grammatical sentence:

- (37) [Was glaubst du [wen denkt Mark [sollen wir einladen]]]?
 what believe you who thinks Mark should we invite
'Who do you think Mark believes that we should invite?'

Since there are no uninterpretable features at any stage that are not deleted, there is nothing that would trigger *Merge* of an expletive in any of the lower clauses. Thus, *Merge* is ruled out.

4.7.0. No LF Isomorphism Between Long-Distance and Partial *wh*-Movement

The last property that remains to be explained is that only long-distance *wh*-movement allows for a wide scope reading of the *wh*-phrase, yielding both a single-pair and a pair-list interpretation of the question, whereas partial *wh*-movement has narrow scope requiring a single-pair reading only. This, however, follows straight forwardly from the proposed analysis. The location of the *wh*-phrase at LF is different for both *wh*-constructions. Whereas it occupies the matrix SpecC position for long-distance movement, giving it wide scope, the *wh*-phrase remains in the embedded SpecC position at LF in the case of partial movement. Consequently it only has narrow scope.

Thus, we have seen that the proposed analysis can well account for the properties associated with the partial *wh*-movement construction. We will next turn to a general discussion of the present analysis.

5.0. DISCUSSION

The analysis for partial *wh*-movement proposed in this paper is essentially based on Bošković's (1999) claim that *wh*-movement does not universally involve a [wh]-feature but can be triggered by a focus-feature instead. It was shown that German *wh*-movement shows the same characteristics that Bošković postulated for focus-driven *wh*-movement, therefore making German *wh*-fronting an instance of focus-movement. This characteristic was then applied to partial *wh*-movement arguing that in this construction focus is exclusively to the embedded clause.

In detailing the exact derivational steps involved in long-distance as well as partial *wh*-movement, a few questions remain unanswered. One of these is what feature [α] one would want to postulate for the *Agree* relation between the *wh*-phrase and the intermediate C-head in partial *wh*-movement. However, this feature [α] is also needed for topicalization-movement in German, and is therefore not particular to this analysis of partial *wh*-movement. The same is true for the movement of the *wh*-phrase from the intermediate SpecCP via the Spec of matrix ν P to the matrix SpecC position. The issue, in particular, is what establishes the *Agree* relation between the *wh*-phrase and the ν head. But again, this problem is not specific to partial *wh*-movement but will have to be answered for *wh*-movement in general. I therefore do not see these problems as a shortcoming of the proposed analysis of partial *wh*-movement.

On the other hand, the analysis advocated here has a number of strengths. It is fully compatible with Chomsky's (2000) phase model, in that all movement is licensed by an active goal that first establishes an *Agree* relation with the probe and movement only occurs to satisfy an EPP-feature. It can also easily account for the difference between long-distance and partial *wh*-movement in that the choice between the two results from the location of the focus-feature. Whereas such a focus feature is by default associated with the Q-feature, the partial *wh*-movement construction can shift this feature to the C head of the embedded clause. And last but not least, the proposed analysis makes specific predictions with respect to the availability of partial *wh*-movement. The difference between a language like English which does not exhibit this option of *wh*-movement on the one hand, and German, which allows for partial *wh*-movement on the other, essentially boils down to whether or not *wh*-movement involves a [wh]- or a focus-feature. Consequently, partial *wh*-movement is predicted only to occur in languages in which *wh*-movement is focus-driven. Thus, an intriguing question to pursue from here is to look at the cross-linguistic manifestation of partial *wh*-movement with respect to focus-movement.

6.0. CONCLUSION

As was argued in this paper, using Bošković's (1999) distinction between languages in which a [wh]-feature is involved in *wh*-fronting and those in which *wh*-movement is essentially focus-movement, it is possible to devise an analysis of partial *wh*-movement (at least for German) couched within Chomsky's (2000) phase model. This analysis is able to explain the structure as well as the properties associated with German partial *wh*-movement and is also consistent with long-distance movement.

A few questions remain open for further research. One of them concerns the *Agree* relation necessary for topicalization movement in German. Another open question is the exact nature of the features involved in *wh*-movement through the Spec ν P position. The most intriguing area of inquiry, however, seems to be the co-occurrence of partial *wh*-movement and focus-movement cross-linguistically. Thus, I believe that the proposed analysis raises interesting questions for further investigation.

NOTES

1. Again, this movement is licensed since the *wh*-phrase is active and it satisfies the EPP on *v*, but it is unclear what establishes the *Agree* relationship. However, this is a problem for *wh*-movement in general and not particular to partial *wh*-movement.

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ON THE STATUS OF FILLERS IN L1 FRENCH: WHAT THE CHILD KNOWS

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ABSTRACT

This research examines the status of fillers found in determiner positions in the early grammar of a French Canadian child, Max (1;9-2;3) (Plunkett, 2002). Three scenarios are considered: (1) fillers are phonological (i.e., pre-morphological) elements reflecting the child's sensitivity to the phonoprosodic patterns of the language (e.g., Licerias, 2002; Lleó & Demuth, 1999; Veneziano & Sinclair, 2000); fillers are thus predicted to occur wherever the phonology and prosody of the language allow them to appear, regardless of syntactic constraints; (2) fillers are proto-morphological elements appearing in structurally-constrained positions and reflecting the child's syntactic knowledge of certain functional categories (e.g., Bottari et al., 1993/1994); fillers should therefore only be found in syntactically-constrained positions, but the morphology of (e.g.) determiners (i.e., phi-features) must still be acquired; and (3) fillers are true morphological elements that children are not able to pronounce accurately due to a phonological deficit, a possibility considered by Bottari et al., (1993/1994); this means that the child has yet to acquire the phonology of (e.g.) determiners, at a segmental or higher level. Twelve 30-minute samples recorded at two-week intervals were analyzed phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically. Results show that from the earliest recordings, fillers are found only in syntactically-constrained positions. In addition, Max's phonologically-accurate production of disyllabic words clearly comes on before that of determiners preceding monosyllabic nouns. This confirms that the child has yet to overcome a morphological deficit, where he or she must acquire the phi-features associated with determiners, and perhaps a phonological deficit, where the phonological representations of these elements must be identified and assigned to their syntactic projection. Support is thus garnered for the claim that fillers are proto-morphemes.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

One question which has received the attention of first language (L1) acquisition researchers concerns the nature of vocalic or nasalized, schwa-like elements often preceding content words in the child's language, also referred to as "presyntactic devices" (e.g., Dore, Franklin, Miller, & Ramer, 1976), "phonological extensions" (e.g., Bloom, 1970; Greenfield, Reilly, Leaper, & Baker, 1985; Macken, 1979), "monosyllabic place-holders" (e.g., Bottari, Cipriani, & Chilosi, 1993/1994; Licerias, 2002), "prefixed additional elements" (e.g., Veneziano & Sinclair, 2000), and "fillers" (e.g., Peters, 2001; Peters & Menn, 1993). These terms have been used invariably to refer to the production of function words which do not match the target word's phonology. Typically, fillers emerge during the child's transition from the one- to the two-word stage (Peters, 2001). Their occurrence in child language is particularly interesting, because it sheds some light on how infants come to map certain grammatical morphemes, including their phonological representation, onto specific functional categories in the syntax.

This study examines the status of fillers in the grammar of a French Canadian child, Max (1;9-2;3) (Plunkett, 2002). Specifically, it looks at the emergence of fillers in the development of definite, indefinite, partitive, possessive, and genitive determiners in early French over a period of six months. This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 reviews some of the research conducted on the occurrence of fillers in French and other languages and considers three positions put forward to account for their existence in child language; Section 3.1 presents the research question and predictions considered in this study; Section 3.2 provides an overview of determiners in French; Section 3.3 explains the methodology used in this research; Section 3.4 reports its findings; and Section 3.5 discusses the significance of these findings with respect to the research question considered herein.

2.0. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1. A Cross-Linguistic Perspective on the Acquisition of Determiners

The occurrence of fillers has been acknowledged in the L1 acquisition of various languages, including Italian, Spanish, English, German, and French. In the case of Italian determiners, it has been proposed that the child might make use of a "Linear Agreement Strategy," by which "a pre-nominal vocalic segment is [often]

appear in any position where the phonology or prosody of the language allows them to appear, regardless of syntactic constraints. This implies that the child has yet to overcome a syntactic deficit, where he or she must assign a syntactic representation to filler determiners, a phonological deficit, where the child must identify the phonological representations of determiners and map them onto their syntactic projections, and a morphological deficit, where the child must acquire the phi-features associated with these elements.¹

Some researchers have suggested that children produce certain vocalic sounds as a strategy to lengthen their utterances as they move on from the one- to the two-word stage, also referred to as the “Devices to Lengthen Single-Word Utterances Hypothesis” (e.g., Bloom, 1970, 1973; Dore *et al.*, 1975; Greenfield *et al.*, 1985). More recently, others have argued that these elements are produced to preserve the metrical structure of the language, as the child becomes more sensitive to the prosodic features of the language (e.g., Lleras, 2002; Lléo & Demuth, 1999; Peters, 2001; Peters & Menn, 1993; Veneziano & Sinclair, 2000). For example, Peters and Menn (1993) conducted a meticulous study on the production of fillers by an English-speaking child, Seth (1;7-2;3). They claim that initially, fillers are prosodic elements in Seth’s grammar (1;7-1;9), as they are far from matching the target word’s phonology and seem to precede all open-class items. Similarly, Veneziano and Sinclair (2000) investigated the development of determiners and clitic pronouns by a French-speaking child, C (1;3-1;10, 2;2). They found that between the ages of 1;7 and 1;10, C’s rendition of fillers in pre-nominal positions increased as her production of monosyllabic words greatly diminished and was replaced by the production of V-CV patterns and iambic metrical structures, the most typical metrical structure in French. Based on these findings, they postulate the “Organization of Surface Regularities Hypothesis” (pp. 485-487), according to which fillers are pre-morphological elements that the child starts producing in order to pattern the prosodic regularities of the language.

Since it is difficult to tease the phono-prosodic and morpho-syntactic features of determiners apart, the only systematic way to determine whether fillers are pure phonological elements is to examine the syntactic positions where they should not appear. If fillers are not syntactically constrained, they should be found in any position in the sentence where the phonology or prosody of the language allows them to appear, including before proper nouns and adverbs, even though the adult grammar does not allow function words (or closed-class items) to occur in such positions. Peters and Menn (1993) did not look at syntactic positions where the presence of function words would be illicit. Although Seth’s fillers were obviously far from matching the target function words, there is no evidence that they violated syntactic constraints. Likewise, Veneziano and Sinclair (2000) did not examine positions where determiners should not appear. Hence, it is not clear in either of these two studies that fillers occur only to imitate the prosodic patterns of the language.²

2.3. Fillers: Proto-Morphological Elements?

Fillers have also been considered from their very early occurrences as proto-morphological elements, or “incomplete” grammatical morphemes. In other words, their occurrence is not random: they appear in syntactically-constrained positions, but the child has yet to overcome a morphological deficit, where he or she must acquire the phi-features associated with these elements, and perhaps a phonological deficit, where the phonological representations of determiners must be mapped onto their syntactic projection.

While the existence of such a stage is arguably uncontroversial, the idea that fillers are from their very early occurrences proto-morphological elements is subject to debate. Bottari *et al.* (1993/1994) examined the acquisition of determiners by six Italian-speaking children (1;7 to 3;2) over a period of time ranging from 8 to 17 months. They found that the very early instances of fillers (i.e., before a Mean Length of Utterance [MLU] of 1.6) tended to precede open-class items. Although they did not systematically look at positions where determiners should not appear, they report two instances of “illicit” fillers during that stage (i.e., insofar as they stand for determiners), namely before an adverb (5a) and before a pivotal form (5b):

- (5a) [ə] basta
 [ə] enough
- (5b) [a] via
 [a] all gone
 (p. 332)

Yet, given the different interpretations that (5a) and (5b) may receive, Bottari et al. (1993/1994) suggest that, perhaps, the fillers in both utterances are not instances of determiners but of the third-person-singular form of the Italian copula *sere* 'be' (*è* 'is'). While Bottari et al.'s (1993/1994) results confirm the existence of a proto-morphological stage later in the acquisition of determiners (i.e., after MLU 1.6), it is not clear whether fillers in the earliest stages are phonological or proto-morphological elements, since they do not look systematically at positions where fillers are not permitted in Italian.

2.4. Fillers: True Morphological Elements?

Lastly, fillers may also be accounted for as true morphological elements that children are not able to pronounce accurately due to performance limitations. According to this hypothesis, fillers are full-fledged morphemes from their very early occurrences, and the only deficit involved is a phonological one. Essentially, this presumes that the child should initially have a complete morphological (and syntactic) competence. This idea was presented by Bottari et al. (1993/1994), among others, as a possible scenario to account for the occurrence of fillers in child language. However, this position was also rejected, namely because it assumes an implausible asymmetry between the child's poor performance on determiners versus his or her relatively accurate performance on nouns. In addition, the six Italian children that Bottari et al. (1993/1994) studied were able to produce the vowels realized in Italian determiners correctly when occurring elsewhere in the language, but still failed to use them appropriately in pre-nominal contexts. Yet, the problem with this assumption is that looking at the occurrence of segments elsewhere in the language might not be sufficient to confirm the presence of a phonological deficit taking place at a higher level. Because determiners are typically not stressed, it might take longer for the child to be able to assign a phonological representation to these elements.

3.0. THE STUDY

3.1. Research Questions and Predictions

By looking at the occurrence of fillers in early French, this study attempts to answer the following research question:

In the *earliest* stages of acquisition, are fillers pre-morphological, proto-morphological, or true morphological elements?

If fillers are initially pre-morphological elements, they should be produced in any position licensed by the phonology or prosody of the language, such as before open-class items, regardless of syntactic constraints. Thus, it should be possible to find them in positions where they are syntactically illicit in French, such as before proper nouns and adverbs, and between adjectives and nouns. The implication of such a finding would be that the child has yet to overcome a syntactic deficit, where he or she must assign a syntactic representation to filler determiners, a phonological deficit, where the child must identify the phonological representations of determiners and map them onto their syntactic projection, and a morphological deficit, where the child must acquire the phi-features associated with these elements.

On the other hand, if, from their very early occurrences, fillers are proto-morphological elements, they should only appear in positions licensed by the syntax of French. If this is indeed the case, fillers should not be found in positions where they are syntactically illicit, such as before proper nouns and adverbs, and between adjectives and nouns. The implication of such a finding would be that the child has yet to overcome a morphological deficit, in which he or she must acquire the phi-features associated with determiners. If this is the case, an asymmetry should be found between the production of vocalic segments in lieu of the first syllable of disyllabic words—which is weak—since no phi-features are associated with this syllable, and the production of fillers standing for determiners in front of monosyllabic words, since they are associated with a specific set of phi-features. In addition to a morphological deficit, the child might also have to overcome a phonological deficit. Because determiners in French are not stressed phonologically, and because they occur in weak-strong feet, it might be more difficult to assign a phonological representation to the syntactic projection of determiners than to other elements. Here, it is impossible to tease these two deficits apart.

Finally, if fillers are true morphological elements that the child is not able to pronounce accurately due to some performance limitations, they should also be found only in syntactic positions where they are licit. In this case, the only deficit that the child has to overcome is a phonological one. It is possible that, at the

segmental level, the child is not able to articulate the consonants and vowels present in adult determiners. As a result, these should not be pronounced accurately elsewhere in the language. More plausible, however, is the possibility that the child has not yet been able to identify the phonological representations associated with determiners because typically they do not receive a phonological stress and they surface in weak-strong feet. If this is the case, no asymmetry should be found between the production of vocalic segments in lieu of the first syllable of disyllabic words and the production of fillers standing for determiners in front of monosyllabic words, since the child has supposedly already acquired the phi-features associated with determiners. Table 1 summarizes the deficits involved for each set of predictions.

Table 1. Deficits Responsible for the Occurrence of Fillers^a

Deficit/Status of Fillers	Pre-Morphological	Proto-Morphological	Morphological
Phonological deficit	√	√/X	√
Morphological deficit	√	√	X
Syntactic deficit	√	X	X

^a √ = deficit involved; X = no deficit involved.

3.2. French Determiners

Determiners in adult French are marked for masculine and feminine when singular (except if the noun they precede starts with a vowel), or they are marked for plural only. Table 2 summarizes the determiners that were included in the analyses.

Table 2. French Determiners

Type	Masculine	Feminine	Preceding a Vowel	Plural
Definite 'the'	<i>le</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>l'</i>	<i>les</i>
Indefinite 'a'/Ø	<i>un</i>	<i>une</i>	<i>un/une</i>	<i>des</i>
Partitive 'some'/Ø	<i>du (de+le)</i>	<i>de la</i>	<i>de l'</i>	<i>des (de+ les)</i>
Genitive 'of/s'	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>des</i>
Possessive (1 st sg.) 'my'	<i>mon</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mon</i>	<i>mes</i>
Possessive (2 nd sg.) 'your'	<i>ton</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>tes</i>
Possessive (3 rd sg.) 'his/her'	<i>son</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>son</i>	<i>ses</i>
Possessive (1 st pl.) 'our'	<i>notre</i>	<i>notre</i>	<i>notre</i>	<i>nos</i>
Possessive (2 nd pl.) 'your'	<i>votre</i>	<i>votre</i>	<i>votre</i>	<i>vos</i>
Possessive (3 rd pl.) 'their'	<i>leur</i>	<i>leur</i>	<i>leur</i>	<i>leurs</i>

French nouns almost always require the presence of a determiner in pre-nominal position, and determiners always agree in gender and number with the noun they precede.

3.3. Methodology

3.3.1. Data Collection

The data reported herein are based on the longitudinal study of a French Canadian child, Max (Plunkett, 2002), who was videotaped and audio-recorded for approximately 30 minutes every two weeks over a period of 18 months (1;9-3;2). The recording sessions took place in a familiar environment in the presence of a fieldworker, who was also a native speaker of French, and another family member, his mother and/or his four-year-old brother (Plunkett, 2002). The sessions consisted of naturally-occurring interactions between Max and the fieldworker during free-play, symbolic play, and snack-time. Since this study examines the occurrence of fillers in the development of determiners, it only looks at the first 12 samples of the corpus recorded over the first six months of the longitudinal study, since after this point, the acquisition of determiners is considered to have practically taken place.

3.3.2. Transcription

The data were initially transcribed by the fieldworker and coded morphologically by Cécile De Cat, a native speaker of Belgian French (Plunkett, 2002). For the purpose of this study, the data was coded a second time both syntactically and phonologically (transcribed essentially into IPA), based on the original audio-recordings. Some of the original transcripts were modified if it was considered that they did not correspond to the child's actual production. Only obligatory contexts (where determiners should appear) were considered.

Repetitions were also included in the analyses, as it is well known that a child will only produce what his or her grammar allows him to produce. On the other hand, unclear or ambiguous utterances, as well as the words *maman* 'mom' and *papa* 'dad', were not included in the analyses.

3.3.3. Identification of Fillers

Any unclear sounds that could not belong to the word it preceded were analyzed as fillers, except if there was a clear pause between the sound and the lexical item. In the case of monosyllabic target words, the identification of fillers was unambiguous. In the case of dissyllabic and tri-syllabic target words, however, a decision had to be made with respect to whether a particular sound was in fact a filler, or whether it belonged to the word in question. Veneziano and Sinclair (2000) considered particular vowels that did not match the vowel in target disyllabic and trisyllabic words as fillers. For example, if the target word was *chapeau* [ʃapó] 'hat' and the child pronounced it as [əpó] as opposed to [apó], they would consider [ə] as a filler rather than as part of the word (p. 487). The problem with this methodology is that it assumes that the child has a perfect mastery of the different vowels in French, which might not be the case at such a young age, especially since the initial syllable in dissyllabic words is always weak. Data analyzed based on this criterion might also be biased toward a phono-prosodic account of fillers, as the occurrence of the "filler" (as the additional syllable on the word) in all probability coincides with the acquisition of iambic metrical structures. For these reasons, only the sounds that are truly additional to the target word were identified as fillers in this study. That is, using the above example, in dissyllabic words, neither [ə] nor [a] in [əpó] and [apó] would be counted as instances of fillers, as they are not additional to the word. For a sound to be counted as a filler, it had to be additional to the target words, such as a [ə] in the hypothetical [ə(ɪ)apó].

3.4. Results

For each of the twelve samples, a morpheme-based MLU was computed (Brown, 1973). The MLU-age correspondences are reported in the Appendix. Two Pearson two-tailed correlation tests performed between Max's MLU and his production and omission of determiners reveal a significant positive correlation between Max's MLU and his production of determiners ($r = 0.98$, $p < .0001$), and a significant negative correlation between his MLU and the omission of determiners ($r = -0.985$, $p < .0001$). As Figure 1 shows, Max's rendition of determiners increases as his MLU increases, while his omission of determiners constantly decreases. The distribution of the different determiner types Max produces over the twelve sessions is reported in the Appendix.

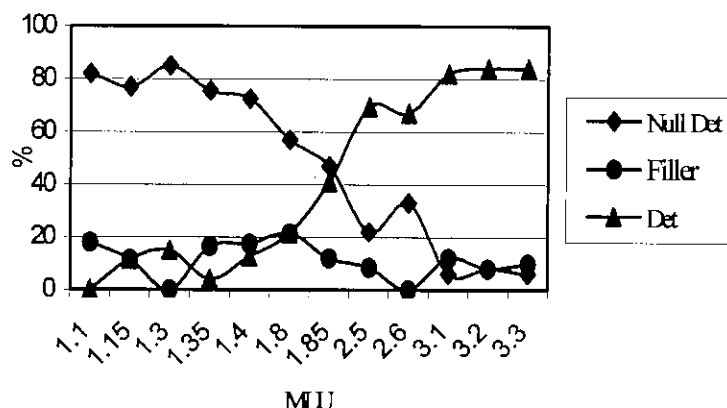


Figure 1: Max's Production of Determiners

On the other hand, no correlation was found between Max's MLU and his production of fillers ($r = 0.33$, $p < .289$). Hence, fillers show a different pattern, slightly increasing until MLU 1.8 and slowly decreasing thereafter. These results indicate that fillers and determiners are not produced sequentially, but simultaneously. Interestingly, Max's production of fillers starts decreasing only once it has been surpassed by his production of determiners.

From the earliest recordings, Max uses fillers as independent elements, since the nouns they precede occur both with and without a filler in the same transcript, as in the following examples (6a-d):

- (6a) [ə] chien (un chien) [MLU 1.35]
[ə] dog (a dog)
- (6b) chien à moi [MLU 1.35]
dog to me 'my dog'
- (6c) [ə] balle (une balle) [MLU 1.35]
[ə] ball (a ball)
- (6d) balle [MLU 1.35]
ball

Overall, fillers consist of a variety of vowels, including [ə], [e], [a], [ã], [œ], and [ø]. Nevertheless, from the very first sample, Max could produce nearly all the consonants and vowels that should normally appear in determiners. The liquid [l], which is often one of the last consonants to be acquired, occurs in Max's utterances during the very first recording session (MLU 1.1), as he accurately produces the adverb *là* [la] 'there' 11 times. Similarly, the fricative [s], which might take longer to acquire than other consonants, occurs in the very first recording, as Max produces the word *ça* [sa] 'it'. Even at the syllable level, Max can produce the combination of segments that are found in determiners. Among other examples, *ça* [sa] 'it' and *là* [la] 'there' have the same pronunciation as the possessive *sa* [sa] 'his-fem/her-fem' and the definite article *la* [la] 'the-fem', respectively. Hence, a phonological deficit at the segmental level does not seem to be the reason why Max initially fails to produce full determiners.

In order to determine whether fillers are syntactically-constrained elements, three positions where closed-class items should not occur were examined: in front of proper nouns, in front of adverbs, and between adjectives and nouns. The results reported in Table 3 reveal that instances of fillers appearing in these positions are virtually nonexistent.

Table 3. Fillers in Illicit Positions^a

MLU	Proper Nouns	Adverbs	Adjectives and Nouns
1.1	0/1	0/11	--
1.15	0/6	0/9	--
1.3	0/2	1/30	0/2
1.35	0/20	1/25	--
1.4	0/8	0/17	0/1
1.8	0/10	0/31	0/3
1.85	1/4	0/31	0/2
2.5	0/10	0/12	0/4
2.6	0/7	1/36	0/3
3.1	1/13	0/37	0/2
3.2	0/5	0/27	0/5
3.3	1/4	1/32	0/8
Total	3/90	4/298	0/30

^aTotal number of fillers in determiner positions: 52

As shown in Table 3, the number of fillers appearing before proper nouns and adverbs is quite negligible, and the occurrence of fillers between nouns and adjectives is completely unattested. The following examples are instances of fillers occurring before a proper noun and an adverb found in Max's data (7a-b):

- (7a) [œ] Catherine [proper noun; MLU 1.85]
- (7b) [ə] là [adverb; MLU 1.3]
[ə] there

These results clearly indicate that from his very early production of fillers, Max seems to know in which position function words are licensed and in which position they are not. If fillers were pre-morphological elements, i.e., if they were only phonological, there is no reason why they should not precede, for example, monosyllabic adverbs such as *là* 'there', which is produced quite frequently in the early data. Hence, one would expect fillers to occur far more frequently before adverbs and proper nouns, which is not the case. This shows that fillers are subject to syntactic constraints from their very early occurrences.

Finally, in order to establish whether a morphological deficit is involved, it is necessary to compare the production of vocalic segments in lieu of the first syllable of disyllabic words to that of fillers standing for determiners before monosyllabic words in obligatory contexts. The first set of columns in Table 4 shows the accuracy with which disyllabic words were pronounced for each recording session. That is, the first column reveals the number and percentage of disyllabic words which only contained the word's last syllable; the second column indicates the number and percentage of disyllabic words which contained the word's last syllable as well as a vocalic segment preceding it; the third column presents the number and percentage of disyllabic words which were pronounced accurately.³ The second set of columns summarizes the accuracy with which determiners were used in obligatory contexts. The fourth, fifth, and sixth columns present the number and percentage of bare nouns, nouns preceded by a filler, and nouns preceded by a determiner, respectively.⁴

Table 4. Disyllabic Words vs. Monosyllabic Words with/out a Determiner

	Disyllabic Words						Monosyllabic Words with/out a Determiner					
	Last Syllable		Vowel + Last Syll.		Correct		Bare Noun		Filler + Noun		Det. + Noun	
MLU	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1.1	2	11.8	3	17.6	12	70.6	4	50	4	50	0	0
1.15	12	54.6	3	13.6	7	31.8	9	75	3	25	0	0
1.3	3	17.6	1	5.9	13	76.5	6	85.7	0	0	1	14.3
1.35	25	49	6	12	20	39	16	69.6	6	26.1	1	4.3
1.4	6	14.3	3	7.1	33	78.6	8	57.1	4	28.6	2	14.3
1.8	5	7.8	1	1.6	58	90.6	7	41.2	3	17.6	7	41.2
1.85	3	7	0	0	40	93	3	25	1	8.3	8	66.7
2.5	3	5.9	1	2	47	92.1	1	5.6	2	11.1	15	83.3
2.6	4	7.3	2	3.6	49	89.1	1	10	0	0	9	90
3.1	2	2.9	3	4.3	64	92.8	4	16.6	1	4.2	19	79.2
3.2	0	0	1	1.9	51	98.1	2	8	2	8	21	84
3.3	1	2.5	1	2.5	37	95	1	3.6	4	14.3	23	82.1

A one-factor ANOVA performed between the proportion of disyllabic words which contained only the last syllable and the proportion of bare monosyllabic nouns found in Max's data reveals a significant difference between the two groups ($df(1,22)$, $F = 4.929$, $p < .037$). A one-factor ANOVA conducted between the proportion of disyllabic words which were correctly pronounced and the proportion of nouns preceded by determiners also reveals a significant difference between the two groups ($df(1,22)$, $F = 6.588$, $p < .018$). Importantly, a one-factor ANOVA conducted on the proportion of disyllabic words which contained the last syllable preceded by a vocalic segment and the proportion of nouns preceded by a filler reveals a significant difference between the two groups ($df(1,22)$, $F = 5.092$, $p < .034$).

Table 4 shows that from the earliest recordings, the proportion of disyllabic words that are pronounced accurately is much higher than that of nouns preceded by a determiner. What is crucial here is the significant difference found between the occurrence of vocalic segments in the first syllable of disyllabic words and the occurrence of fillers preceding monosyllabic words, the latter being much higher than the former. This clearly indicates that Max experiences more difficulty with determiners than he does with the first syllable of disyllabic words. If only a phonological deficit was involved, such an asymmetry would not be found. Hence, the data show that something else is contributing to the fact that determiners take much longer to acquire—specifically, the acquisition of the set of phi-features associated with these elements.

3.5. Discussion

This study aimed to determine whether fillers in early French are pre-morphological, proto-morphological, or true morphological elements. The first scenario considered in this article assumes that from very early on, fillers are pre-morphological elements reflecting the child's sensitivity to the phonological and prosodic patterns of the language. This position implies that fillers should appear in any position where the phonology or prosody of the language allows them to appear, regardless of syntactic constraints. The results reported in this study do not support this position, as fillers occurred overwhelmingly in positions licensed by the child's syntax, whereas instances of fillers in illicit syntactic positions were largely unattested. If fillers were phonological elements that Max would produce in order to imitate the phono-prosodic features of French, one would expect them to also occur in positions favored by the prosody of French but not licensed by the syntax, such as before monosyllabic adverbs. The very fact that such cases were virtually nonexistent is probably the most convincing evidence that from their very early occurrences, fillers obey the same syntactic constraints as their full phonological and morphological counterparts.

The second scenario considered in this study was that from their very early occurrences, fillers are proto-morphological elements obeying the same syntactic constraints as their full morphological counterparts. The findings of this study confirm that before Max could produce determiners at a high rate, he knew in which position these elements should occur. This does not preclude the possibility that the phono-prosodic attributes of a language are influential in the acquisition of closed-class items. Plausibly, they might even be the actual trigger that initially allows the child to parse the language and map specific phonological representations onto their syntactic projections. Nevertheless, a strict phono-prosodic account does not explain why fillers only occur in syntactically-constrained positions. In addition, a comparison between monosyllabic words preceded by a filler or determiner and disyllabic words indicated a clear asymmetry between the production of vocalic segments in lieu of the first syllable of disyllabic words and the production of fillers standing for determiners in front of monosyllabic words. This confirms that determiners take considerably longer to acquire because the child has yet to overcome a morphological deficit, where he or she must acquire the phi-features associated with these elements. One cannot exclude the possibility that the child must also overcome a phonological deficit where the phonological representations of determiners must be assigned to their syntactic projections. In this case, it is impossible to tease these two deficits apart.

Lastly, it was also hypothesized that perhaps fillers come up in child language as a result of a phonological deficit impeding the child from pronouncing the consonants and vowels appearing in function words (and determiners) accurately. At the segmental level, this scenario was clearly rejected because Max could produce all the consonants and vowels appearing in determiners from the very first recording (notably [l] and [s]), but he still failed to use determiners with most nominals, and whenever he used fillers, they did not match the phonology of any determiners. At a higher level, however, one cannot exclude the possibility that a deficit lies in the assignation of phonological representations to the syntactic projections of determiners. Yet, it was shown that a morphological deficit is also involved, as illustrated by the comparison between monosyllabic words preceded by a filler or determiner and disyllabic words. Thus, these findings must lead to the rejection of the claim that fillers are true morphological elements, i.e., that the only deficit that the child must overcome is a phonological one.

4.0. CONCLUSION

The occurrence of fillers in child language will probably continue to receive the attention of L1 researchers, as they provide a potential window to understanding how children are able to break through the phonology, morphology, and syntax of a language. The existence of these proto-morphemes, which emerge as the child enters a transition from the one- to the two-word stage, corroborates the fact that the child's linguistic performance clearly underdetermines his or her grammatical competence. In this study, it has been demonstrated that the production of fillers by a French Canadian child, Max (Plunkett, 2002), is systematic and obeys specific syntactic constraints. Nevertheless, the child must still overcome a morphological deficit, and perhaps a phonological one, prior to the acquisition of determiners, i.e., before these elements are fully specified

for phi-features and are assigned the appropriate phonological representations, respectively. In the meantime, further research is needed to determine what factors influence the occurrence of fillers, both cross-linguistically and on a greater number of children.

NOTES

1. Note that the term "deficit" here does not entail any impairment of the child's competence at any point in the acquisition process. It is used simply to indicate knowledge of the language which has not been acquired yet with respect to determiners. For example, a "syntactic deficit" here does not mean that the child's syntax is impaired, but that the child has not yet identified the projection with which determiners are associated.
2. Peters (1997) claims that fillers sometimes serve a pure rhythmic function. For example, she reports the data of a Norwegian girl, Nora (2;3), who produces fillers in syntactically illicit positions, such as between a demonstrative determiner and a noun (Simonsen, 1990). She also reports illicit fillers from the data of a German child, Günther (2;5), who produces fillers between adjectives and nouns (Stern & Stern, 1965). While these fillers are probably not associated with specific syntactic properties, it is not clear whether their occurrence in illicit positions is systematic or only occasional. It is necessary to establish the proportion of fillers found in illicit positions to determine whether these elements are purely prosodic or are associated with specific syntactic properties.
3. The pronunciation of disyllabic words was considered accurate if the first syllable was formed with a consonant (in consonant-initial words) and a vowel. Words where one consonant in a set of consonants or a coda had been omitted were also considered accurate (e.g., missing [r] in *bisé* for *brisé* 'broken'; missing [l] in *abum* for *album*).
4. Determiners which cliticize on vowel-initial nouns were not included in the analyses.

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APPENDIX

Determiner Types (Raw)

file #	date	Max's age	MLU	Det Null	Det Filler	Def.	Ind.	Part.	Poss.	Gen.
1	15-JAN-1997	1;9.19	1.1	18	4	0	0	0	0	0
2	30-JAN-1997	1;10.3	1.15	20	3	3	0	0	0	0
3	13-FEB-1997	1;10.17	1.3	11	0	1	0	0	1	0
4	27-FEB-1997	1;11.0	1.35	37	8	3	1	0	0	0
6	27-MAR-1997	2;0.0	1.4	29	7	2	1	0	0	1
7	10-APR-1997	2;0.14	1.8	24	9	2	3	2	2	0
8	24-APR-1997	2;0.28	1.85	16	4	0	3	6	3	2
9	13-MAY-1997	2;1.16	2.5	8	3	10	4	6	4	1
10	22-MAY-1997	2;1.25	2.6	9	0	7	6	0	4	1
11	5-JUN-1997	2;2.9	3.2	3	3	12	8	5	4	2
12	18-JUN-1997	2;2.22	3.3	3	5	25	11	2	2	0
13	3-JUL-1997	2;3.6	3.1	3	6	11	22	0	1	2

Def. = definite; Ind. = indefinite; Part. = partitive; Poss. = possessive; Gen. = genitive.

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